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THE FILIPINO HISTORIAN'S BURDEN *

By Carlos P. Romulo **

Dr. Carlos P. Romulo gives, in his inimitable way, the functions and responsibilities of Filipino historians. To the conferees he gives excellent advice to take away with them a resolve to safeguard history and draw from it the treasures of our moral life.

It has been said that "although God cannot alter the past, historians can; it is perhaps because they can be useful to Him in this respect that He tolerates their existence."

It has been rather my good fortune to have participated in a personal and intimate way in many of the public events that have now moved as it were into history; and these events, I believe, historians can not now change. When I accepted your kind invitation that I join you here this morning, there is all the more reason, perhaps, I said to myself, for my historian friends and scholars of history to tolerate my existence.

But it is not about those public events, which in a sense have become private to me (or, in any case, were) that I am supposed to speak. The planners of this conference have defined my theme, and it appears that my role might be that of a reviewer of history as well as an observer of society.

Coleridge lumped reviewers in his time as "usually people who would have been poets, historians, biographers, etc., if they could; they have tried their talents at one or at the other, and have failed; therefore they turn critics."

If I then turn critic—and critic of history and society—I would only be true to form. But be that as it may, I would like to congratulate the planners of this conference—the Philippine Historical Association, as the sponsoring organization, in particular—for the timeliness and substance of the matters in your agenda.

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* Address delivered at the Opening Ceremonies of the Conference of Scholars and Teachers of History on the theme: "The Study of History and Moral Regeneration" held on November 30, 1962, under the auspices of the PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

** Dr. Carlos P. Romulo is President of the University of the Philippines.

Your organizers have had their ears on the ground, so to speak. The Philippine Historical Association, it seems to me, is out to remind us that the time has come for our stock-taking, our making an intellectual inventory as students of history and society.

There is, however, the suggestion that such stock-taking could produce some insights in the area of moral regeneration. I must confess that this last phrase frightens me, for a cursory look at the moral problems of our time can be most depressing. The phrase "moral regeneration" assumes the presence of "moral decay," and I do not know whether we are all prepared to say that ours is a decadent society. It is, therefore, with some reservations that I am taking up for this talk the theme of this conference.

Elsewhere I have spoken of "our seeming purposelessness (as a people), our drifting about in this the 20th century and the sixteenth year of our independence." And in this connection I expressed the idea that perhaps this "derived . . . from our having overlooked our past. We have devoted too much of our time and energy to this history of other nations, too little to our own . . . Our own Filipino historians, while they have written excellent textbooks, have not as yet produced an authoritative and definitive history of the Philippines written from the Filipino viewpoint that has commanded the respect of historians in the world of letters." This meeting might well be an opportunity to further turn this thought.

The performance of our historians through the years have been rather puzzling. Consider the wealth of material in the form of our experience as a people. Consider the gamut that we have gone through from our early tribal beginnings and through feudal societies and finally to our present orientation in the democratic ideal. And then consider what ennobling story we, as a people, can tell the world — to say nothing of that which, by necessity, we have to continue to pass on from our generation to the next, because our odyssey is also their own, because our triumphs are also their triumphs, because our aspirations are clearly those which we wish them also to have if we are to preserve the best features of the society that we now enjoy, if we are to hold on to that which is good and true and of the most lasting value.

For all these, what have our writers of history to offer? To which book might a young reader of 1962 turn for an understanding of the way we were in 1521 or 1522? To which volume might he turn next year, 1963, to re-live and comprehend the tensions and issues of our political, economic, and moral life, say, in 1943, a year after the beginning of the Japanese Occupation? And how is he to see the fall and rise of a people under an enemy power the weight of which the mythical Atlas could not have readily borne?

Speaking of the Occupation, doesn't this strike you as perhaps one of the richest areas for historical investigation? And yet what have been produced, so far? For our readings on the various military campaigns of World War II affecting the Philippines we have to go to American writers. We have yet to wait for a history of the Occupation—and although I know that one is being written—I can not understand why there are not two or three, the field so rich, areas for inquiry and synthesis being so vast.

According to the papers, a set of valuable historical books are being re-issued for the delectation of the cognoscenti; and if my information is correct we will have soon a modest spate of handsome books, with these ones to be issued soon as the beginning. Were that these titles the works of Filipino historians all! That we should leave the interpretation of our past to foreigners, however honest they may be, does not seem to me a healthy sign — perhaps a sign no less as unhealthy as limiting the task of interpretation purely to Filipino historians themselves, a prospect of which, judging by the signs, we need have no fear.

Have our historians been recreant then to their obligations? Let us put this question squarely before the bar of our own consciences, weighing the performance as against the responsibility, the achieved as against the envisioned success. Do not our historians have the skill, the insight, even the techniques? Do not our historians have the language—nay, do they not have three or even more languages—to use as tools in the admittedly difficult but challenging task of making our past readable and understandable?

Yes, we are capable of being severe with ourselves. I do not know what these questions have raised for answers in your minds. But I do not feel that our historians have done poorly. I believe theirs is a solid achievement of a kind, and that all things considered we have ample reason to feel proud of them.

The evidence for criticism, if criticism is called for, points to the existence of certain attitudes prevalent in our society which makes the work of our historians more difficult than necessary. It must be admitted that the act of writing down a history is difficult enough, and when social attitudes towards the practice of historiography come in the writer's way there does obtain a situation enough to faze anyone.

It may well be that we are by nature indifferent to historical materials, to artifacts of our culture, to our very past itself. I am not prepared to believe this, and yet I know that for years our archives have been rotting in the Old Bilibid compound, and newspaper and magazine writers, as well as a few of our officials, have lamented the steadily increasing losses in this most valuable collection. These records have fortunately found a temporary home at the University of the Philippines, but even there—since we at the University do not have full authority to plan for their permanent accommodation—we can hear, as it were, those valuable documents crackle away in decay, and we fear for their future.

I am reminded of the Korean peasant, in this connection. So valuable to the Korean mind is a piece of paper with whatever writing on it that, should he find a stray piece of writing by the wayside, he is as likely as not to pick it up and post it upon a tree so that, if its owner should turn up from amongst the wayfarers, it would not be lost for good.

We do not have such a temperament, such a reverence for the printed word that mirrors man's thoughts and recounts his experience. It is all of a piece with our attitudes towards museums and libraries. But this being the case, we cannot resign to this blight in our character as a people.

At the University of the Philippines, we are planning the construction of a National Heroes Hall. There we hope to put together what more or less make up a visible memorabilia, the physical correlatives, of our heroes and their patriotism—so that for each well-known fact of history, the imagination may have an object or a group of objects to which it may anchor or attach a corresponding feeling. When we speak of reviving a generation's attention to the past and a consciousness of their obligation to the present and future, this is what we mean. A hall of heroes is really nothing but that—a bridge between the past and the continuing present which we cross taking along the young generation, holding them by the hand lest they stumble or fall in the ruts or from over the catwalk.

And so such a hall we shall have as soon as we are able, and its real function shall be to safeguard history—Philippine history—which you know by now has two specific enemies: the termites of indifference and the inexorable passing of time. There, in that Hall, we hope to bring together whatever we can gather—to challenge, as it were, the fickleness of human memory and the fragility of man's effects in this world: for example, microfilms of Philippine materials collected from the great libraries of Europe and America and Asia, so that within a limited amount of space we can gather so much. There we would like to mount a permanent exhibit of the Katipunan, of Rizal's life and works, of the Malolos Republic—material, in short, that will serve as landmarks of our progress through time and provide as well as landscale of the terrain we have covered as a people and a vista of the future we have yet to travel.

I am reminded here of what the Japanese have done with their Hiroshima experience. Hiroshima City, the city of seven rivers, as the Japanese have called it, has, since the end of the war, become a special tourist attraction. Ironically, but understandably, mankind has made a bee-line to see exhibited at Hiroshima how a baby Atom Bomb can kill 200,000 people in a matter of minutes—and viewing the Hiroshima display takes on the nature of seeing for onself Man's death-wish in actuality. It thus seems to me that the Japanese have not only a sense of history but a sense of human tragedy as well—for they have, in their own fashion, asked the world to share, even now, the holocaust they have undergone as a warning against all holocausts to come.

We simply don't quite have this sense of tragedy and possibly that sense of history, too, so that some of our critics have described us as a people adrift in the tide of time. Doubtless, it is for this reason, if for no other, that at this conference you are hopeful about threshing out the problem of moral regeneration. And your coupling it with history has the rightness of the historian's intuition. History instills in us the values that a nation lives by, so that a deficiency in the sense of history is a deficiency in the lessons to be derived from those values. It is to our untrammelled glory as a Christian people that those values are moral values, so that when we therefore concern ourselves with moral regeneration, it is because we have either intuitively or rationally arrived at an awareness of a moral decay. That this decay can be traced to our not safeguarding our history is a claim that can be more or less tenable, and I am positive that it will come up again and again in your discussions.

To my mind, it is in our past that we can find the materials with which to reconstruct the moral structure in our society that you seem to find in shambles. It is, for example, in the study of pre-Spanish trade in this country where we might find some secrets in integrity as demonstrated in inter-group dealings, of which we have many varieties today. In the past, these may have been limited to barter trade; today, we barter not only goods but accommodations as well; we trade in raw materials as well as in political as well as commercial agreements. I need not list down which other things we, in our day and age, have had to learn to trade with and for. The point is that in all these, complex as our life has become, we have had to safeguard as best we can that candle of integrity.

Our forefathers made a fetish of keeping it aflame; our history is clear on this. We were true to our word, and the monsoon winds that brought Chinese traders over to our shores discovered this sterling virtue and were overwhelmed by it. It is for historians to discover where the monsoons of fortune made us less true to our word, caused us to see that there is at times no difference between opportunity and opportunism, and taught us to handle a dilemma not by grappling by the horns but by holding it by its tail.

And history would show us the ever-continuous sifting of isms, the isms that bring hope only to breed new forms of frustration, the isms that breed in us ideas that we concretize into ideologies, and ideas and ideologies that in turn produce new forms of oppression, new types of miseries, disillusionments, anxieties and despair. We need to have all these pointed out in terms of our experiences as a people, in a balanced and wise disposition of the forces and counterforces that have produced events and built up foci of leaderships.

The intelligentsia of this country awaits that one historian's sagacity, his sense of justice, his very wisdom. Rather than continuing with quarrels and anti-isms; rather than feeding old resentments and grievances, re-building brush-fires that have died down three generations back; rather than foment new antagonisms in new vessels of hate; our historians—and this may well go for our teachers of history—should ferret out new values for our growing society, or re-sharpen, like old, rusty knives, the ones which an older generation have laid aside in cupboards.

This is my brief on behalf of moral regeneration, and if the study of history can be truly meaningful it should produce a new attitude among our people toward our past. The illusion that historians suffer from, to my mind, is that they can see order in the chaos of lived, day-to-day experience. And I call it illusion because what they see in the form of order is in reality their special and singular version of it. The central issue is, with what kind of vision do they see the past, and what quality do they suggest for the future. This is the historian's burden.

Interpretations of history, even the most sketchy class-room studies of history, cannot rise above their source: the man whose hand wrote the history book, or the teacher standing before his students. But to experience the urge to order reality, as all historians and scholars of history must experience, is to submit to an examination of convictions and re-order one's beliefs.

I hold that such convictions and such beliefs are, in the nature of things, moral in character and concern with moral regeneration only because of earlier readings of history which, through negligence, or oversight, or distortion of convictions and beliefs, have caused somewhere in the society of denigration of the values that are in a people's history. To speak of moral regeneration is indeed symptomatic as well as—and this I am happy to say—therapeutic. It is as much a search as well as a discovery, a seeking and finding all together.

May I therefore hope that in your celebrations and cerebrations at this conference, you will not miss taking away with you—to share with your own circle of students and friends—a resolve to safeguard history and draw from it, as all men must, the treasures of our moral life.

*THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND MORAL REGENERATION— PRE-SPANISH AND SPANISH PERIODS**

By Domingo L. Jhocson **

This scholarly paper considers the study of history in relation to the development of the moral fiber of the future generations of Filipinos and ties it up with the ultimate function of education.

The Philippine Historical Association has chosen for this conference a theme which is at once a challenge not only to History teachers but to all other teachers and school executives as well. "The Study of History and Moral Regeneration" is a theme which implies the effectiveness of the teaching of history as an instrument for the moral and spiritual uplift of the young through an analysis of the personal qualities of the heroes and heroines of the past and what they had achieved for their country and for their fellowmen. It is a theme, besides, which acknowledges a lowering of morals among our people and which the Philippine Historical Association now seeks to remedy specifically through the study of history in our schools. As we scan the pages of newspapers from day to day and read of the many incidents showing wanton disregard of law and order not only on the part of the youth but also on the part of our adult population who ought to know better, there is, indeed, a pressing need for moral regeneration with the schools at the front line of attack against the inroads of such a trend in the life of our people.

The study of History in relation to the development of the moral fiber of the future generations of Filipinos obviously presents as a prime factor to consider on the part of our school administrators the proper selection of men and women who should be entrusted with the difficult task of utilizing the lessons of history as a means to that end.

A school teacher is assumed to possess the necessary academic and professional qualifications besides a good personality and character which should serve as a fitting model for the youth to emulate. The academic equipment presupposes that the teacher has specialized enough in the field of history to understand the scope of the subject and to be able to read independently and intelligently along the lines of his teaching. His professional equipment should enable the teacher to determine the best methods of procedure in order that proper learning may take place on the part of the students.

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* Paper read at the First Session of the Conference of Scholars and Teachers of History on the theme "The Study of History and Moral Regeneration: Pre-Spanish and Spanish Periods."

** President Domingo L. Jhocson is head of the National University, a pioneer among Philippine educational institutions; he is also president of the Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities (PACU) for the present academic year 1962-1963.

There was a time when many people felt that academic equipment was all that a history teacher needed to be able to succeed in his work. The general consensus among people engaged in education today, however, is in favor of an equipment which gives equal emphasis on both the academic and the professional phases. This is the reason why colleges of education require students preparing to become history teachers to devote a minimum number of semester hours to history proper, besides a number of units in related subjects such as Humanities, Sociology, Political Science, and Political Economy. Complementary to this is the offering of a liberal amount of professional training which gives the future teachers an insight into the actual teaching or imparting of his knowledge of history to others.

While the academic equipment tends to insure a desirable stock of knowledge of history, the professional phase reflects the training in the analysis of teaching objectives and in the methodology by which such objectives are attained.

President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University spoke fondly of Professor Francis Lieber, rated as one of the most successful teachers of history who ever lived. The professor used to assign a number of pages from a popular history manual of Europe, with a collection of facts, including dates, names and important events. Each student was required to master the contents of those pages and when the class met he chose one student to write on the blackboard a summary of the events that happened in France, for example, during the period under consideration. Then another student would do the same for Germany, Holland and so on until the material in the assigned lesson is covered. After the students had recited to his satisfaction, he would tell them that they knew what happened in the countries covered at the specified time. But he added that they did not know why these events happened because the reasons were not given in the book. And then in his eloquent, inimitable way, Professor or Lieber would discuss the different situations, illuminating them with philosophical explanations that riveted and endeared the memorized facts in the minds of his happy and contented students. If history teaching is so presented as Professor Lieber did in Columbia University that the students will understand the background and the motives leading up to events, the awakening of mental attitudes that will motivate thinking and conduct will be a lasting benefit derived by the student through such a teaching technique. For these attitudes will not disappear even after the historical facts that stimulated them have long been forgotten.

If students studying history are led to think through all the facts and conditions leading up to events, they cannot fail to be more tolerant of the attitudes of those who grew up under conditions very different from their own. In this way, the student acquires a perspective for understanding contemporary issues and events, since his study of history had the effect not of a mental inventory of historical facts chronologically arranged in his mind but rather an inventory of worthy impulses and lofty ideals which will motivate his reflective thinking and subsequent conduct.

Youth is a period of hero worship, and the growing individual tends to identify himself with commanding personalities in history or in contemporary life. These dynamic characters greatly influence his patterns of behavior as well as his ambitions. Biography is an embodiment of the customs, traditions, and mores of the age of the personality presented, and even if the background is foreign to the student as in world history and in the stories of the Bible, the concreteness and clarity of presentation make the past as realistic as the living present. The growing individual perceives not only the important events of the age but he also in a way re-lives the joys and sorrows, the struggles and the sacrifices of the people whose biographies are selected for study.

It is for this reason that the teacher should give careful attention to the historical character to be considered and his achievements to be accentuated. In many history books the military genius and his exploits are accorded undue emphasis and only scant attention is given the hero of peace. While the story of the rise and fall of nations through wars and the glories of the military conqueror are not entirely to be relegated to the background, adequate recognition should be given to those who have shown in the fullest measure courage, sacrifice and selflessness in civil life.

Consider the inspiring manhood of those who have explored the waste lands of the polar regions and cloud-capped mountains, those who give up their all to clear jungles of mental and spiritual ignorance in Africa and the South Sea Islands, those who take their lives in their hands in their search for remedies to alleviate the afflictions of highly contagious diseases and deadly ills of mankind. These anointed disciples of peace are as great as the heroes of war and are even more fitting examples for the exaltation of moral and spiritual values. Many military heroes, on the other hand, have been great builders, top administrators and men of enduring worth. Their humane and huminizing qualities should be placed in bold relief.

The Philippines is most fortunate in having a history from which the youth of the land could draw inspiration for moral and ethical uplift under the guidance of competent instructors. The pre-Spanish period of the history of our people abounds with instances of the spiritual virtues practised by the early Filipinos which our young people could emulate and which are worth preserving as characteristics of the race.

Long before the coming of Magellan in 1521, the Filipinos already had a culture of their own which their Malayan ancestors brought with them and which were passed on from generation to generation. They had their own system of government under the datus who enforced laws consisting mostly of customs and traditions which the people treasured and preserved as their way of life. In 1433, Chief Kalantiao of Panay, formulated a code of laws placing a premium on life and honesty and handed down severe penalties for killing, stealing, disrespect to the aged, non-payment of debt and luxury.

Our forefathers left good examples for our emulation at present and for the guidance of generations yet to come. Our forebears were scrupulous in the fulfillment of their promises. They needed no receipts even in important transactions. Their word was enough security for the satisfaction of obligations. A Chinese manuscript of the 13th century records "the honesty of the traders of Luzon, who took the Chinese products and distributed them throughout the Islands, traveling for nine months, and then returned to pay religiously even for the merchandise that the Chinaman did not remember to have given them."

The early Filipinos believed in a Supreme Being they called Bathala, and when the Spaniards came and introduced Christianity among the natives, it was not difficult for the latter to be converted, for Christ to them became only another name for Bathala. The rapid evangelization of the Philippines is manifested in the **pasion** in its many forms, in the **cenaculo** or **penitencia** and in the **Lagda,** an aggregate of civico-religious precepts attributed to a native clergyman. The compilation, first printed in 1734 in the Leyte-Samar tongue and in 1865 in the Cebu language, is a synthesis of various desirable social norms and spiritual teachings for character enhancement—a firm yet gentle guide to the brighter and happier world above.

During the early period, the Filipinos had no organized system of education, but each tribal group had its own system of teaching reading and writing to the children in the homes, thus virtually making every home a school and every mother a teacher. Besides teaching the three R's, every mother trained her daughters not only in home management and in home chores but in moral virtues such as purity in thought and action and the preservation of chastity. The father trained the sons to follow their fathers' trade, instilled in them the spirit of manly virtues, and provided opportunities for them to experience acts of bravery with a view to preparing them to fight for self-protection and for the defense of the interests of the tribe.

As in the case of the chief of the tribal group who held sway over his entire domain enforcing strict observance of customs and traditions as well as laws promulgated from time to time, the head of the family (the father or in the absence of the father, the mother) was regarded by every member of the family as the final authority whose word was law and must be observed by every one living under the same roof. Family discipline was such that children grew up to be respectful and obedient to their parents and to rightful authorities, honest in their dealings with their neighbors, diligent in the observance of their duties and obligations at home and in following the customs and traditions observed by the people within the domain.

This was, in brief, the culture of the early Filipinos that the Spanish conquistadores found and hispanized as they proceeded from one island to another in their campaign to implant Spanish sovereignty over the Philippine archipelago. Whatever faults this early Filipino culture might have revealed, the fact remains that it led to the development of national traits and characteristics which I believe should be preserved among our people. Such traits and characteristics as the following, for instance, might well be included under this category.

(1) The Filipino family is solid. This solidarity is manifested through filial love and devotion, through taking care of the aged and the less fortunate, and through mutual aid.

(2) Politeness and Courtesy. Since ancient times, the Filipino child has been taught to be polite and courteous, particularly towards women and towards strangers.

(3) Modesty and chastity are traditional traits of Filipino women. Our people frown upon the lack of modesty. Chastity is a virtue which is highly treasured by our people.

(4) Respect for elders is considered a duty to be observed. This is duly manifested in words and in deeds.

(5) The spirit of cooperation is demonstrated in group activities. Neighborliness is a manifestation of this characteristic. The bayanihan is another.

(6) Hospitality is our common trait. Our doors are opened at the slightest knock, and we spontaneously share with others the comforts of our home.

These are but few of the many desirable traits that had been handed down from generation to generation, supplemented and enriched, but not supplanted, by whatever that was found desirable and appropriate through the Filipinos' contact with western culture during the Spanish regime and during the American period.

The builders of the Filipino nation whose life achievements are recorded in history from the time of the Rajahs and the Datus down to the heroes and heroines of the historic propaganda and revolutionary period toward the close of the Spanish era in the Philippines and down the present will forever serve as crystal springs of inspiration for the youth. Let us cherish the precious legacies left to us by our noble departed; let us study history with greater vision and teach it not as a body of dry, indigestible facts but as humanized information throbbing with life and interest that, in the words of Professor Lieber, would rivet and endear the memorized historical facts in the minds of the students.

It would be well if the educational authorities concerned could take steps, if they have not yet done so, toward the formulation of concrete plans which may serve as guides for our teachers in utilizing History, in addition to other offerings, as an instrument for shaping the morals and ethics of the youth of the land. The government has embarked on a crusade for moral regeneration, and the Philippine Historical Association, in choosing as the theme for this convention "The Study of History and Moral Regeneration," apparently aims to create a favorable atmosphere in the school sector which would lead to an effective contribution to the attainment of the ends sought.

The ultimate function of education is to develop the potentialities of every boy and girl to the end that they become good men and good women first and scholars after. The constitution of the Republic of the Philippines specifically ordains that the schools shall aim to develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience and so forth. It is incumbent upon the school system, therefore, to gear itself and lead the way toward the crystallization of the objectives of the moral regeneration movement initiated by the President of the Republic. In this way, the underlying purpose behind this movement will become clearly patent and its continuity over a long range period secured, regardless of subsequent political fortunes.

THE MISSION AND DUTY OF HISTORIANS[*]

By Alejandro R. Roces [**]

The author discusses the essence of history and urges local historians to develop a greater awareness of their mission and of their duty to their profession. It stresses the need for both a perceptive eye and literary articulateness as a means for attaining international recognition.

Early man, from the time he lived in caves or roamed the plains waith a crude stone ax and flint spear, has always attempted to leave behind in a more or less lasting form a record of his life on earth. Thus we have the paintings in the caves of Altamira in Spain, the drawings in the caves of Honan, China, the baked clay cylinders of the Sumerians, the papyrus writings kept in the pyramids of ancient Egypt, and a host of other factual remnants left thousands of years ago by early man.

In its essence, these records are history in the making, contemporary accounts of events that took place within a limited period of time. Before going any further, let us review first the meaning of the word history, the topic of this gathering of scholars.

The term history is used in two senses. It may mean either *record* of events, or the events *themselves*. In comparatively recent times it has been extended to include the phenomena which form or might form their subject. This is the accepted meaning today. Thus, when we speak of the "History of the Philippines," we do not refer to any literary narrative. We term governors general and certain individuals as the makers of history. We sometimes say that the historian records only the history which these persons make. History in this connection, it is obvious, is *not* the record but the *thing* to be recorded.

History in the freer sense, is all that has happened, not merely all the phenomena of human life, but these of the natural world as well. It includes everything that undergoes change. In this respect, history covers the widest field imaginable. It includes all branches of science, all things that happen or seem to happen. The subject is so vast, under this meaning, that we are perforced to limit ourselves to the stricter sense—the description and recording of past human events.

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[*] A paper read at the Second Session of the Conference of Scholars and Teachers of History on the theme of "The Study of History and Moral Regeneration: Propaganda and Revolutionary Periods."

[**] Secretary of Education.

The earliest recorded origins of history are to be found today in inscriptions, whether they be in Egypt, in Babylonia, China or the Indus valley. The inadequacy of these inscriptions is evident from two standpoints: their permanence depends not upon their importance, but upon the durability of the substance on which they are inscribed. For example, of the scores if not hundreds of clay tablets that we have recovered from ancient sites in Babylon, the Code of Hummurabi, the great lawgiver is of utmost significance; the greater part of the other tablets are of minor or no importance. But what of other important events written on more perishable forms that have disappeared with the passage of time? Naturally, we know nothing about them because there is no record left for us to read and study. Sealed to all but a few learned scholars who know how to read these early inscriptions, they lie forgotten for centuries, while oral tradition flourishes. Take the case of the Philippines. Our early forebears wrote either on palm leaves or on the inner cortex of bamboos—two extremely perishable natural commodities. As a result, we know next to nothing about them, except from what we have read from Europeans who wrote about them, and who were prejudiced by their religious beliefs and distorted the facts because of their ignorance. On the other hand, oral tradition has survived these centuries in the form of songs and legends, dances and folklore; and before these completely disappear, our present-day historians, musicians and choreographers should record them for future posterity.

Our Filipino historians of today should follow the steps of these first Greek historians who carried their inquiry beyond both the written record and the oral tradition by a study of the world around us. These Greek writers gathered the sayings of wise men and leaders, mostly contemporaries, and upon the basis of a widened experience they became critics of their traditions. They were the forerunners of the acknowledged "father of history"—Herodotus. It is easy for us today to show the inadequacy of his sources, yet the work of Herodotus remains a scientific achievement as remarkable for its approximation to the truth as for the vastness of its scope. It was his chief glory to have joined to this scientific spirit an artistic sense which enabled him to cast the material into the truest literary form.

If I were to advise a prospective historian, a student in any one of our universities, I would urge him to study Herodotus as a model to imitate. Or I would advise him to study another Greek master of history—Thucydides, who is rated by many as even better than Herodotus. For Thucydides scorned the story teller who "sought to please the ear rather than to speak the truth," and yet his rhetoric is considered as the culmination of Greek historical prose. He withdrew from vulgar applause, conscious that his narrative would be considered disappointing to the ear, yet he recast the materials out of which he constructed it, in order to lift that narrative into the realm of pure literature. Speeches, letters and documents are re-worded to be in keeping with the rest of his story. You might say that this re-wording is not acceptable to the modern critique of history writing, for it would be changing facts though not their essence. Perhaps you may be right. But how many of our present-day historians can write facts in a literary manner? Are not a good number of our present-day historians in this country merely reciters of facts, dates and events, so prosaically told that they put us to sleep?

It is therefore necessary, if we are to have first-class Filipino historians, to have chroniclers who are adept in writing well. An absorbing style to interest readers, by making the men and events live, preferably a literary style, seems to be the quality that our would-be historians should possess if they want international recognition.

History, so the saying goes, repeats itself. This is a truism we cannot deny. To take one glaring example in Philippine revolutionary history which we are discussing this morning. You all know that it was General Mariano Noriel who was chairman of the Council of War which found Andres Bonifacio guilty of treason way back in 1897, on the basis of what is suspected to be the perjured testimony of one of the Great Plebeian's military subordinates. Yet, less than a dozen years later, General Noriel was to be tried for murder, again seemingly based on the false testimony of witnesses, and was duly hanged at Bilibid Prison. How ironic it was that he was to be found guilty in the same way he had found Bonifacio guilty—but, as the saying goes, history has a way of repeating itself!

Nevertheless, despite this truism, the details of any given event or fact vary in very many ways. And here is where the Filipino historian can excel. The attention to significant details has often been overlooked by our writers of history. This is a rich field to explore, and can add color and vividness to facts and data. Not only is a perceptive eye needed, but the ability to write well along literary lines would add immeasurably to the stature of Filipino historians.

The gathering of these important details can best be made during the lifetime of the protagonists and the minor characters of each dramatic event. Too often the surrounding circumstances of an event are either unrecorded or lost. Take the revolutionary period in our history: so many incidents which give promise of a fuller chronicling, are barely mentioned because of lack of details regarding them. Why? Because the Filipino historians of the past generation failed to gather them: they failed to interview the main and minor *dramatis personae* involved, who could give a clue to the motive or the exact incidents that had transpired. Now, of course, they are all dead; and the few *revolucionarios* who are alive are too old and faulty of memory to give a reliable account. That is why I am happy to learn that one of the discussants this morning is writing about a fairly recent topic in our nation's history: the Commonwealth Government-in-exile. True enough, the main protagonists, Presidents Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña, are dead. But the documents they left are still intact, and what is more important still, the secondary characters—men like Jaime Hernandez, Basilio Valdes, Andres Soriano, Joaquin Elizalde, Sebastian Ugarte, Arturo Rotor and many others—are still alive to fill out the details for the historian conscientious and persistent enough to interview them.

Another topic fit for inquiry are the World War years in the archipelago—the Japanese Occupation of our country. Sporadic attempts have been made by a couple of our historians, but none that I know of has taken the pains to collate the facts and details during those three years—indeed a very brief period in the history of our country, but highly significant because they brought out the qualities of greatness among our people. And yet, if we wait for another generation to pass, we shall know about it just as much as we know today about the British Occupation of Manila—which is, frankly speaking, comparatively precious little.

To the members of this distinguished assembly of local historians I therefore urge a greater awareness of your mission and of your duty to the profession, for in your hands rests the knowledge of our past for the benefit of generations of Filipinos to come.

THE REGENERATION OF PHILIPPINE SOCIETY [*]

By Encarnación Alzona [**]

In her fluent scholarly style, the author objectively traces the various attempts to reform the habits and life of the Filipino people. She notes that the Filipino leaders and thinkers, from Rizal to President Diosdado Macapagal, have been chiefly preoccupied with the regeneration of Philippine society to produce an efficient and patriotic citizenry.

In this paper the term "regeneration" is used in the sense of the reformation of the habits and life of society.

The first Filipino who sounded the call for the regeneration of Philippine society was Rizal (1861-1896), our foremost national hero. He laid it down as a prerequisite to national progress and the attainment of liberties; that is, of civil liberties first and of political liberty ultimately.

Rizal lived under Spanish rule which denied the Filipinos the rights of man. Their life and property were at the mercy of the rulers who showed no mercy when it suited their interests. Rizal used his pen to denounce this tyrannical colonial rule and to rouse his fellow countrymen from their apathy and defeatism. How could the Filipinos attain dignity and freedom if they would not reform themselves and adopt a rational outlook upon life? The Filipinos had talent. He called upon the youth to cultivate their talents for the glory of their motherland—the Philippines—in his poem "A la Juventud Filipina" (To the Philippine Youth) as well as in his other writings. Education would dignify the Filipinos. If they were educated they would be respected. Let the government provide good schools for the youth.

He appealed to the Filipino women to inspire the men to be industrious, dignified, and brave. Women should seek education, rely on their native intelligence rather than follow blindly the teachings of those who wished them to remain ignorant and enchained.

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[*] A paper read at the third session of the Conference of Scholars and Teachers of History on the theme of "The Study of History and Moral Regeneration: American and Post-Liberation Periods."

[**] Member, Board of Regents, University of the Philippines.

Study the Philippines' past before the coming of the Spaniards and the Filipinos would discover that they could be proud of their ancestors for they were an industrious, intrepid, and sturdy race. However, the modern Filipinos had lost the laudable virtues of their ancestors as a result of Spanish colonization. No, the people of these Islands were not indolent before the Spanish era, replied Rizal to the Spaniards who berated the Filipinos calling them a lazy people.

Rizal was optimistic. The Philippines had a bright future. A century hence the people of this Archipelago would be brought closer together by modern means of transportation; the islands would be studded with factories; commerce would flourish; and merchant ships would fill our harbors. The Philippines would be free and her people happy and prosperous.

Other Filipino patriots followed in the footsteps of Rizal. Revolutionary leader Andres Bonifacio (1863-1897) urged his countrymen to be honest, upright, patriotic and he gave them his *Dekálogo*, ten commandments written in the vernacular, for them to follow.

The brainy young man Emilio Jacinto (1875-1899), Bonifacio's faithful colleague, wrote on love of country, freedom, and sacrifice in an effort to influence his fellow countrymen to be patriotic, brave, and self-sacrificing men, honorable and just.

No student of Philippine History would omit the name of Apolinario Mabini (1864-1903) even in a sketchy account of the movement for the regeneration of Philippine society. He was a profound thinker and brilliant lawyer, a true patriot, a man of integrity. For the guidance of his countrymen and to instill in their minds patriotism, to remind them of the duties of men, and to imbue them with a deep sense of responsibility as citizens of a democracy he offered them his True Decalogue which he summed up as "the commandments of God communicated to men through reason."

Mabini was desirous of regulating the conduct of revolutionary soldiers and officials and maintaining order in the provinces to prevent anarchy and mob rule. With this in mind he prepared the Ordinances of the Revolution consisting of 89 rules. He also recommended to his countrymen his Constitutional Programme of the Philippine Republic which would demonstrate to the whole world that the Filipinos knew how to govern themselves.

The first Philippine Republic was short-lived. America proclaimed her sovereignty over these Islands, despite the opposition of Filipino patriots who believed in their country's right to be independent. To overcome their resistance she adopted stern measures; such as, the arrest of those Filipinos who were regarded as irreconcilable and their deportation to the forbidding tiny island of Guam. Among them was Mabini who, though a cripple and confined to an invalid's chair, with his pen was active in advocating resistance to American sovereignty and in demanding recognition of Philippine independence.

Under American rule the social regeneration of the Filipinos received a significant impetus through the new public schools which inculcated in the minds of youth democratic ideas and principles, among them the dignity of labor. Farming was stressed as an honorable occupation to be preferred to white-collar jobs. The large school enrolment and the literacy campaign reduced illiteracy markedly.

The appointment of Filipinos to government posts, though done gradually, provided a large number of Filipinos with the necessary training in the art of running the government.

America's enlightened colonial policy won the friendship and admiration of the Filipino people, but their desire for independence did not wane. On the contrary their educational progress heightened their ambition to become an independent nation. Their official spokesmen again and again reiterated to the American Congress this national aspiration until finally it agreed to set the date for the proclamation of Philippine independence on 4 July 1946.

That decision of the American Congress gave new impetus to the movement for the regeneration of the Filipino people. The leaders of the nation felt the urgent need of strengthening the spirit of the people in readiness for the sacrifices that independence would demand from every Filipino citizen. Manuel Roxas (1892-1948), brilliant lawyer and economist, then speaker of the House of Representatives and later (1946) first president of the Republic of the Philippines, organized the Bagong Katipunan[1] based on ten fundamental principles—called its decalogue—dealing with national independence, national unity, economic nationalism, racial equality, conservation of human resources, veneration of our past, cultivation of the national culture, national discipline, high standard of public administration, and righteousness. Its principle of economic nationalism found many enthusiasts as demonstrated by the subsequent formation of the National Economic Protectionism Association (NEPA) for the realization of that very principle.

The aims of the Bagong Katipunan were laudable enough but the movement failed to win sustained popular support for lack of a practical programme of action that the masses could appreciate. When President Manuel L. Quezon (1878-1944) dubbed it Bagóng Katipunan, according to President Elpidio Quirino (1890-1956), "everybody laughed it out of existence."[2]

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[1] The Decalogue of the Bagong Katipunan is Appendix D to the FILIPINO CIVIC CODE, a publication of the Philippine Historical Association, 1958.

Then the Commonwealth of the Philippines was established. The period of its existence was marked by serious preparation for the Republic that would succeed it in 1946. Provision for national defense, reorganization of the government, educational reforms, agriculture, commerce, finance, and the moral regeneration of the people —these were the matters that preoccupied the Commonwealth.

Within the memory of many living Filipinos today (1962) was President Quezon's memorable speech delivered on his 60th birthday anniversary (19 August 1938) at the Rizal Memorial Stadium in Manila before a huge gathering of Filipino youth, teachers, and public officials.[3] He began his speech with a brief summary of what he had accomplished thus far, declaring "Keeping faith with the spirit of the Constitution, as I understand it, I have acted as the leader of the nation rather than as the spokesman of a political party. I have chased narrow partisanship from the councils of the government." Of course, being a statesman, he could do no less.

He then expounded his views on the Filipino people. In his opinion a strong nation was composed of "vigorous, sturdy individuals, of men and women healthy in mind and body; courteous, brave, industrious, self-reliant; purposeful in thought as well as in action; imbued with sound patriotism and a profound sense of righteousness, with high social ideals and a strong moral fiber. . . ." All these qualities were found in the Filipinos, but some of them had become dormant because of the soft life the people had led in the last forty years, referring to the American regime. Just as Rizal exposed the shortcomings of his contemporaries so he too would do the same about his own. He said:

> We the Filipinos of today are soft, easy-going. Our tendency is towards parasitism. We are uninclined to sustained, strenuous effort. We lack earnestness... Our sense of righteousness is often dulled by the desire of personal gain. Our norm of conduct is generally prompted by expediency rather than by principle. . . . We take our religion lightly. . . . We are inconstant; we lack perseverance. . . . There are those among us who are apt to compromise with ethical principles. . . .

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[2] His Excellency Elpidio Quirino, President of the Philippines, THE NEW PHILIPPINE IDEOLOGY, Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1949, p. 113.

[3] Messages and Speeches by His Excellency Manuel Luis Quezon, President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, Manila, 1940, pp. 191-196.

> ....We are loathe to accept our social responsibilities. We look upon our Government as the fountain source of living to which we are reluctant to give anything but from which we expect every bounty and help. We work slowly and scantily.... We prefer a life of ease and take pride in it....
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> ....We abhor discipline, either moral or physical....

Thus Quezon pointed out the flaws in the character of the Filipinos. He spoke the truth; he could not be contradicted.

He also observed that the behavior of our youth left much to be desired. He declared: "Social decorum is fast becoming prostituted by a mistaken conception of so-called modernity. A wrong adaptation of foreign customs creates in us, especially among the young, a feeling that politeness is commonplace and that smartness and insolence are the equivalent of good breeding...."

Politeness was one of the traits of the inhabitants of these Islands that aroused the admiration of the early Spaniard, Quezon recalled. We must preserve this legacy of our forefathers.

For the guidance of the youth he promulgated a code of ethics which had been prepared by a committee of distinguished citizens appointed by him.[4] The code was made a part of the curriculum of all schools in the Philippines and printed copies of it were widely distributed. The code consisted of sixteen precepts dealing with love of God, country, and one's parents, respect of the Constitution, fulfillment of the obligations of citizenship, honor truth, thrift, industry, self-reliance, social service, and economic nationalism. Quezon called upon all political and civic leaders to cooperate in the implementation of the Code to bring about the regeneration of Philippine society.

About two years after its promulgation, the attention of the Filipino people was diverted to an unexpected national tragedy—the invasion of their country by the Japanese imperial forces. This is recent history. Still fresh in our memory was the establishment by the Japanese of a puppet Philippine Republic which was enjoined to foster Philippine nationalism. In harmony with this policy the Filipino president of the Republic ordered the preparation of a civic code for Filipino citizens, appointing a committee of Filipino scholars and writers to undertake the task.[5] The finished code was more elaborate than the Quezon Code of Ethics. It consisted of 29 precepts, each supported by quotations from the writings of various Filipino thinkers and enlivened with anecdotes of famous Filipinos. The draft of the code was still under study by the Japanese authorities when Japan surrendered, thus terminating her rule over this country, and the puppet republic vanished like a bad dream.

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[4] Executive Order No. 217 of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, 19 August 1939. This code is reprinted as Appendix E to *Filipino Civic Code,* a publication of the Philippine Historical Association.

[5] The Philippine Historical Association secured a copy of the code and published it under the title of FILIPINO CIVIC CODE in 1958.

The movement for the regeneration of the Filipino people was revived by President Elpidio Quirino, second president of the Republic of the Philippines, when he launched what he termed The New Philippine Ideology in his speech of acceptance of an honorary degree from the University of the Philippines on 12 February 1949. The objective of The New Philippine Ideology was "a happy citizen," and to achieve it "We need total economic mobilization...", he declared. He drew a bright picture of the Philippines if his ideology would be realized. It would make the common man "strong, self-reliant, patriotic. The total economic mobilization spells full employment which in turn would mean peace, security, and contentment... the realization of this ideology as a goal will insure the welfare of the common man and the stability of our country."[6]

The Quirino Total Economic Mobilization Plan was received with considerable skepticism.

This backward glance reveals that the regeneration of Philippine society to produce an efficient and patriotic citizenry has long been the chief preoccupation of Filipino leaders and thinkers beginning with Rizal followed by Bonifacio, Jacinto, Mabini, Quezon, Quirino, and many others. To this list we can now add the name of Dr. Diosdado Macapagal, now President of the Philippines, who has vowed to work for the moral regeneration of the Filipino people during his tenure, thus continuing the task so nobly begun by Rizal. We wish him success.

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[6] Op. cit. pp. 158-169; 173-178.

THE DIOCESE AND CATHEDRAL OF MANILA *

By Manuel P. Alonzo, Jr.

This paper traces the historical background of the founding of the diocese of Manila and portrays the role played by its first bishop, Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., in its expansion and development.

THE DIOCESE AND THE CATHEDRAL

Ecclesiastical organization of the Catholic church in the Indies prior to the foundation of the diocese of Manila. From the time of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus till 1503, the whole Indies was canonically considered as a mission field entrusted to the different religious men who sailed from Spain, governed directly by the respective religious superiors. The work of the propagation of the faith in America was placed on the shoulders of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Mercederians, who were later replaced by the Jesuits.[1] Even after the erection of the different dioceses in America, the parochial and mission responsibilities were in the hands of the same religious. Till 1567 the whole newly discovered America was the field of apostolic work of these religious organization.[2]

The elevation of the church in America as a hierarchy was made by Julius II on November 15, 1504 with the erection of three diocese on the Isla Española through the bull *Illius Fulciti praesidio*.[3] The dioceses were, Jerague as metropolitan see, Lores de Guahaba and

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* This is the first part of Chapter VII, Part Two, of a doctoral thesis entitled **Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., The First Bishop of the Philippines** (A study on his juridico-political doctrines) by Rev. Manuel P. Alonzo, Jr., presented in May 1962 to the Faculty of Canon Law of the Pontifical University of Salamanca, Salamanca, Spain. The author is a Filipino and is now the parish priest of Tanauan, Leyte.

[1] SAENZ DE SANTA MARIA, **Stimmen der Zeit: Monatschrift fur des Geisterleben der Gegenwert:** 161 band (83 Jahrgang 1957/58, 7 heft p. 5.

[2] Cf. FIGUERAS, "Principios de la expansion dominicana en Indies," **Missionelle Hispanica,** 1 (1944) pp. 303-340; SEOANE, "La expansion de la Merced en la America Colonial." **Missionalia Hispanica.** 1 (1944). p. 109-166; and 11 (1945) pp. 231-290; MATEOS, "Primera expedicion de missioneros Jesuitas al Peru (1565-1568" **Missionalia Hispanica** 11 (1945) pp. 41-108.

[3] SCHAFER, **El Consejo Real y Supremo de Indias,** vol. 2, p. 191.

Vega as suffragan dioceses.[4] Though these three dioceses were formally erected, they were never occupied because King Ferdinand objected to the foundation on the ground that the Royal Patronage was not clearly conceded for these dioceses. The King advised Francisco de Rojas, his ambassador to the Pontifical court, to petition His Holiness to "concede the said patronage over all those (the dioceses of America) perpetually to me and to the successors of the crown of castillo and Leon."[5] On July 28, 1508 the Royal Patronage over the American churches was granted to the Spanish crown through the bull "*Universalis Ecclesiae regimini:*[6] On August 11, 1511 three new dioceses were created in America, for whose seats the bishops previously nominated for the three original dioceses of the Isla Española were given executorial letters dated December 27, 1512.[7] These three new dioceses of Santo Domingo, Concepcion de la Vega and Puerto Rico were suffragan bishoprics under the metropolitan see of Sevilla.[8]

The exigencies of the times demanded too far to be governed efficiently and too immense to be taken care of properly and sufficiently. These practical reasons motivated the foundation of three metropolitan sees in America during the consistory of February 11, 1546 made by Paul III through the bull *Super Universae Orbis.* The metropolitan sees were: *Mexico,* with Oaxaca (Antequera), Michoacan, Tlaxcala, Guatemala, Ghiapa, and later, on July 31, 1549, with Concepcion de la Vega, Puerto Rico, Cuba Coro, Santa Maria, Cartagena de Indias, Trujillo in Honduras, and *Lima,* with Cuzco, Quito, Panama and Nicaragua.[9]

The ecclesiastical personnel of the dioceses of Manila. In the meantime while the religious organizations were truly working hard for the conversion of the American Indians, though they certainly met serious and numerous impediments from the Spanish *conquistadores* and soldiers by their evil and wicked conduct, the Philippine archipelago was discovered by Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. The discovery of the Philippines was not within the plan of the expedition whose principal object was commercial in character to reach Molucas, the spice territory, by sailing westward. Though the expedition of Magellan accomplished the baptism of the *datu* of Cebu and some other natives,[10] the work of the colonization and evangelization of the natives was not brought about till the arrival of the expedition of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in 1565.

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[4] BAYLE, Expansion Missional de España, p. 26.

[5] Cedulario Cubano, vol. 1, p. 125, as cited by BAYLE, op. cit., p. 26.

[6] SCHAFER, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 191, For the Legislations on the Royal Patronage, cf. RLI, Lib. 1, tit. 6, BAYLE, op. cit. pp. 26-27.

[7] SCHAFER, ibid, p. 192.

[8] SPECKER, Die Missionsmethode in Spanisch-Amerika im 16. Jahrhundert mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der Konzillen und Synoden, p. 2.

[9] ibid, pp. 8-9.

The secular clergy in the work of the missions of the Philippines. The glory and honor of the conversion of the Philippines into the bulwark of Christianity in the Orient certainly belongs to the religious orders, who exceeded in great proportion the secular clergy who dedicated themselves to the mission work there; and the "conservation of those islands for Spain during the long three centuries of peace...was due to the moral prestige...and this was the work of the friars."[11]

But the secular clergy was no less zealous in the work of salvation; in fact we can prudently judge that the secular priests opened the way and led the route to the missions.[12] They began the mission work and the religious orders, whose personnel outnumbered them, followed their footsteps and supplanted them. The religious orders were much better organized for the missions. At any rate, in the particular case of the evangelization of the Philippines, the secular priests were already with the expedition of Ferdinand Magellan. Fr. Pedro de Balderrama, one of the secular priests in the said expedition, baptized the king and the queen of Cebu together with some twenty-four subjects.

It is known now that four secular clergymen accompanied the expedition of Ferdinand Magellan, though only one seemed to have reached the island of Cebu. The four were Frs. Bernardo Calmeta, chaplain of the expedition, Pedro de Balderrama, Pedro Sanchez de la Reina and Licentiate Morales.[13]

It is favorable to judge that secular priests came to the Philippines in other expeditions before the arrival of Legaspi and even after the religious priests were spreading into this far-flung wing of However, on account of their negligible number, and the evident the Spanish empire. When Bishop Salazar arrived in the Philippines to take over the administration of the new Philippine diocese he found six secular priests already working there.[14] However, on account of their negligible number, and the evident lack of administrative organization, not much is related of them.

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[10] Df. PHELAN, "Pre-baptismal instruction and administration of Baptism in the Philippines during the Sixteenth Century." The Americas. XII (July 1955) 3-23.

[11] Los Frailes Filipinos, p. 9.

[12] Cf. PEREZ, Los Franciscanos en las Islas Filipinas, p. 6.

[13] MONTALBAN, El Patronato español y la Conquista de Filipinas, p. 47.

[14] SALAZAR, El Rey, Manila, 18 de Junio de 1582. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

The first Augustinians in the Philippines. The work of the colonization and conversion of the Philippine native did not begin strictly speaking till the arrival of the Legaspi expedition and the Augustinian missionaries. These first missionaries, Frs. Andres de Urdaneta, Martin de Rada, Diego de Herrera, Andres de Aguirre, Lorenzo Jimenez and Pedro Gamboa, truly dedicated themselves to the conversion of the natives.[15] The first three particularly became famous on account of their defense of the natives and the struggle they fought against *conquistadores* who were more brutal than the moros of Mindoro. They were not the first Augustinians to reach the Philippines, for in the armada of Villalobos, came along Frs. Jeronimo de San Esteban, Nicolas de Perea, Alonzo de Alavarado and Sebastian de la Reina. On account of the extreme difficulties they encountered in Mindanao where the Mohammedan faith had been preached before their arrival, they could not accomplish much in the conversion of the natives. They returned to Spain with the same expedition, sailing westward—thus circumnavigating the world.[16]

The Augustinians got some sort of monopoly in the early years of the missionary work in the Philippines where they zealously worked for the propagation of the faith in Manila, Cebu, Masbate, Panay, Mindoro, Laguna, Batangas, Camarines, Bulacan, Pampanga, Zambales, Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Cagayan.[17] Their work was rewarded with numerous conversions, relatively speaking. But they realized that on account of the immense territory and the proportionately small numbers of religious of their order who could go to the Philippines, they could not do all the work in Christianizing all the natives; for this reason and moved by the seal for souls, the early Augutsinians hurried to invite other religious Orders to share the responsibility and glory of converting the Philippine natives.

The first Franciscans in the Philippines. Through the recommendation of the Augustinian friars, Governor Francisco de Sande wrote a petition for the religious of St. Francis to the Council of the Indies.[18] The first Franciscan fathers to land in the Philippines were not originally destined for that territory. It was a group designated for the mission work in the islands of Solomon and New Guinea. This group was preparing to sail to their destination when the king changed his mind and ordered them to the Philippines. They sailed from Sevilla in July of 1576 and arrived in the Philippines on June 24, 1577.[19] On account of the difficulty and hardships in the trip, a number of missionaries died on the way. Quite a big number though reached the Philippine shores fifteen in all.[20] These friars were heartedly received by the Augustinians in Manila from where Fr. Pedro Alfaro sent them two by two to the provinces of Ilocos, Pangasinan, Panay, Laguna de Bay, Batangas and Camarines.[21] The first Franciscans were Frs. Pedro Alfaro, Pedro de Jerez, Pablo de Jesus, Juan de Plasencia, Juan Bautista Pesaro, Alonzo de Medina, Sebastian de Baeza, Francisco Mariano, Diego de Oropesa, Agustin de Tordesillas, Antonio Barriales, Francisco Menor, two choristers and a lay brother.[22] Five Franciscans arrived in 1581 together with the party of Bishop Salazar.[23]

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[15] Cf. MARIN Y MORALES, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 170.

[16] MONTALBAN, op. cit. p. 144.

[17] MARTINEZ DE ZUÑIGA. **Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas.** vol. 1, pp. 224-227.

[18] RIBADENEYRA, **Historia de las Islas del archipielago y Reynos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y Japon,** p. 13.

The first Jesuits. The nucleus of what is now the Philippine province arrived with the first bishop of the Philippines in 1581. They were Frs. Antonio Sedeño and Alonso Sanchez, and a lay brother Nicolas Gallardo. It was during the trip from Mexico to the newly erected diocese that Bishop Domingo de Salazar and Fr. Alonso Sanchez, who became later the trusted adviser of the prelate, though they could not agree on a number of particular subjects, became friends. It was however Fr. Pedro de Chirino who first dedicated to the evangelization work in 1591.[24] The Jesuits took as their field of missionary work in the localities of Tondo, Cavite, Leyte, Samar, Bohol, Negros, Cebu, and Panay. A royal *cedula* of June 8, 1585 founded the College of San Jose, which was at the same time a Concillar Seminary.[25]

The first Dominican friars. Bishop Salazar sailed from Spain with quite a big number of religious of his Order but only one reached the Philippines; the others either died on the way from the Iberian Peninsula to Mexico or too sick to cross the Pacific Ocean to reach the newly assigned field. Only Fr. Cristobal de Salvatierra was given the honor of seeing the Philippines where he worked much for the conversion of the natives.

The work of the foundation of the Philippine Province of Santo Rosario was the task of Fr. Juan Crisostomo, a Dominican from the Convent of Sevilla whom Bishop Salazar sent from Mexico to

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[19] FERNANDO-FONSECA, **Historia de los Padres Dominicanos en las islas Filipinas y en sus misiones del Japon, China, Tung-kin y Formosa,** vol. 1, pp. 189-190.

[20] PEREZ, op. cit. pp. 7-8; FERNANDO-FONSECA, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 189-190 claim that there were sixteen of them.

[21] PEREZ, ibid. pp. 7-8.

[22] PASTELLS, as cited by BR. vol. 12, pp. 192-193. (footnote n. 47).

[24] MONTALBAN, **Historia de las Misiones,** p. 405.

[25] MARTINEZ DE ZUÑIGA, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 232-233.

Spain to intercede the king to send more religious of the Order of St. Dominic and to work for the foundation of the Philippine Province.[26] Bishop Salazar could not get more religious of his order to take the place of those who died on the way or to weak to continue the journey to the Pacific mission field, in spite of the *Cedulas* to the Provincials of Mexico and Chiapa,[27] and to the viceroy of Mexico [28] to facilitate the permission for more Dominicans for the Philippines and provision for the trip to the designated post.

Fr. Juan Crisostomo sailed from Mexico to Madrid to get the royal authorization for the foundation of the Philippine Province in 1581. In Bologne he obtained the permit together a mission of thirty religious for the foundation of the projected province from Fr. Pablo Constable de Ferrara, the Master General of the Order, on July 14, 1582. His Holiness Gregorio XIII conceded a plenary indulgence and other graces for those who would sail to the territory for the foundation and establishment of the Province. On May 30, 1585, King Philip II affirmed the favor in the royal *cedula* given at Tortosa.

The mission of eighten religious sailed from San Lucar on July 17, 1586 under the leadership of Fr. Juan de Castro, ex-provincial of Chiapo and Guatemala. From the part of Acapulco, fifteen sailed for Macao three days before. The first group to establish the Philippine Dominican Province of Santo Domingo reached the port of Cavite on July 21, 1587.[29] Other groups of Dominicans arrived later; seven arrived in 1588 and seventy in 1592.[30]

The first bishop of the Philippines gave the founding Dominican fathers the facilities within his capacity. While the first Dominican convent was under construction, they were housed in the episcopal apartment. Moreover, the bishop bought for them a piece of land from Gaspar de Isla for three hundred pesos on August 15, 1587.

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[26] SALAZAR al Rey, Chilapa, 10 de Marzo de 1581. AGI, Fil. 1064 (Papeles por agregar).

[27] "Real cedula al provincial de la orden de Santo Domingo de la provincia de Santiago de Nueva España sobre los Religiosos de su Orden que han de ir a Filipinas." Aranjuez, 13 de Mayo de 1579. AGI. Fil. 339 (Lib. 1.fo 15ovo a 153); "Real Cedula al provincial de la Orden de Santo Domingo de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa, sobre que den favor para llevar religiosas de su orden de alli a Filipinas, Aranquez, 13 de mayo del 1579.AGI Fil. 339 (Lib. 1.fo 156 a 157).

[28] Real cedula al virrey de Nueva España para que provea de lo necesario a los Religiosos que de alli quieran pasar a Filipinas a entender en la conversion y doctrina de los Indios. Aranjuez, 13 de mayo de 1579. AGI Fil. 339 (lib. 1.fo 151. ve).

[29] COLIN-PASTELLS, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 175 as regards to the number of religious in the mission that reached the Philippines, MONTALBAN, **Manual de la Historia de las Misiones** p. 403, states that there were eighteen religious.

[30] Cf. ECHEVARRIA, op. cit. p. 53.

The marshy piece of land where the convent was constructed was blessed by cathedral canon Francisco de Cervantes. The building for whose construction Bishop Salazar donated three thousand pesos was finished very soon and on January 1, 1588, the Dominican friars transferred to the new convent with Fr. Diego de Soria as the superior of the house in the capacity of a vicar-provincial.[31] Panganan, Cagayan and Bataan were assigned to them as their mission field.[32] Among the members of the 1587 mission were Frs. Diego de Soria, Bernardo de Santa Catalina, Fidel de S. Martin, Bernardo de Nieva, Alonso Jimenez, Juan de Castro and Juan de Cobo.[33]

Distribution and some statistics on the first religions in the Philippines. For the sake of efficient administration of the mission work and internal and local efforts, these four religious orders formed different Provinces with their own superior in the Philippines. The Augustinians gave the precedent when they established themselves as an independent province in 1572. The Franciscans followed the example establishing the Province of San Gregorio in 1586 while the Dominicans founded the Santisimo Rosario Province in 1592 and the Jesuits in 1606.[34]

It is worth noting that by the establishment of the different provinces, the religious were directly and immediately dependent upon the superiors in the Philippines, and ultimately from the Superior General of the different Orders. The supreme and centralized jurisdiction of missionaries was initiated only after the institution of the Propaganda Fide in 1622. Furthermore, through the power of the royal patronage, the religious were under the jurisdiction of the secular government of Spain with regards to the number of religious and their destinations and the temporal help in the missions.[35] It is noticeable that the episcopal jurisdiction was not considered in this particular case. Indeed, Bishop Salazar encountered grave and serious difficulties arising from this juridical relation on account of the fact that the religious claimed their exemptions and privileges, as were granted to the different orders in the course of their internal history, even when the church was hierarchically established in the Philippine territory.[36]

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[31] QUINTANA, op. cit. ed. CUERVO, op. cit. vol. 3, pp. 286-287.

[32] Cf. MARTINEZ DE ZUÑIGA, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 229.

[33] CERVANTES, op. cit. ed. CUERVO, op. cit. vol. 3, pp. 992-993.

[34] ECHEVERRIA, op. cit. pp. 53-54.

[35] For further discussion on the royal patronage and the jurisdiction of the crown with regards to the missionaries, cf. LETURIA, **El Regio Vicariato**, pp. 138-144. For a well-studied historico-doctrinal evolution of the Royal Vicariate, with a complete bibliography, cf. GOMEZ HOYOS, op. cit. pp. 21-47. The following works are likewise worth consulting: EGAÑA, **La teoria de Regio Vicariato Español en Indias** and DA SILVA REGO, **Le patronage portugals de l'Orient, Apercu historique** (translated by HAUPT); of the same author: **Documentacao para a Historia des Missioes do padroado portugues do Orient. 1 India (1499-1522).**

Till 1594, the four religious orders had no definite territorial limits assigned to them by higher authority. They were sometimes working in the apostolic ministry in the same islands and the same territory. In 1594, the Governor and the Archbishop of Manila were ordered to divide the mission fields to these four religious congregations with the prohibition for the missionaries to territory where other orders could have occupied.[37]

The following distribution of the missionaries in the Philippines has been kept in the records of the Propaganda Fide. The Augustinians occupied the Tagala provinces and Pampanga, Ilocos, Pintados, Panay, Cebu, Masbate, and Bantayan. Then Dominicans held as a mission field the provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan. The Franciscans had the provinces of Camarines, Laguna de Bay and the Islands of Catanduanes and Marinduque, while the Jesuits worked in the Islands of Tandaya, Leyte, and Bohol.[38]

To the glory of Spain—the religious congregations which sent personnel and the secular government which provided for the temporal needs of the missionaries—was the conscientious fulfillment of the obligation to propagate the faith to the whole world. Within the period of twenty-years alone (1575-1595) four hundred and fifty-four religious missionaries sailed from the Iberian shores to comply with the apostolic mission. It is true though that many of these zealous men did not touch the Philippine soil because they either died or fell sick during the long tedious and hazardous trip more than half around the world; their places were filled though by other religious who were desirous to work in the Oriental mission field. Of these missionaries who sailed from Spain, one hundred and six were Augustinians; one hundred and seventy-eight, Franciscans; one hundred and forty-five Dominicans and twenty-five, Jesuits.[30]

The works of the missionaries were bountifully recorded with conversions. As of 1598, the Augustinians had forty principal churches with "doctrines" connected with them and a spiritual care of more than one hundred thousand Christians. The Franciscans had on the other hand forty-one convents with "doctrines" and numerous small churches and "visits-chapels"; two hospitals, one for Indians and another for the Spaniards and their slaves, a big spiritual flock of around six hundred thousand Christians. The Jesuits dedicated more to the education of the natives; they had a college for the education of the natives who were desirous of becoming ministers of the gospel, and fifteen "doctrines" and many "visit-chapels". Finally the Dominicans had seven principal "doctrines" and some "visit-chapels," two houses of studies for theology, one in Manila and another in Cagayan, two other convents near Manila where some religious studied the Chinese language to care for the six hundred Chinese converts and one hospital for Chinese, both Christians and Infidels.[40]

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[36] We do not discuss the question of the episcopal jurisdiction in relation to the exemption and privileges of the religious. A documented study on the subject, though about another personality and of later period, by RUBIO MERINO, **Don Diego Camacho y Avila arzobispo de Manila y de Guadalajara de Mexico** (1695-1712), pp. 186-239, gives us the history and principal legislations on the questions of religious with parishes. The following articles are worth consulting too; COSTA, "Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Philippines in the 17th century," **Philippine Studies**, 11 (September, 1954) 197-217; CUNNINGHAM, "The question of Episcopal Visitation in the Philippines," **The Pacific Ocean in History**, pp. 223-237.

[37] ECHEVERRIA, op. cit. p. 54.

[38] Memorial of Fr. Rodrigo de San Miguel, Archive of the Propaganda Fide, Memociali, 1626, vol. 386, fo. 143, as cited by ECHEVERRIA, op. cit. p. 54.

[39] BAYLE, op. cit. p. 207.

These statistical data, though imperfect, give us an insight to the progress of the propagation of the gospel in the Oriental outpost of the Spanish empire. These were the five ecclesiastical groups with whom Bishop Salazar had to work in the Philippines, each of them contributing to the spread of the faith according to the different fields and responsibilities given them. The territory was prepared by the secular priests, Augustinians and Franciscans for the establishment of the diocese.

Foundation of diocese of Manila. The far-flung part of the Spanish empire was rapidly brought to the knowledge of Christ through the instrumentality of the religious orders, particularly the Augustinians and the Franciscans. In no time it was necessary to elevate that mission field into the status of a fully and canonically erected hierarchy. The principal reason for the erection of the diocese of Manila was the great number of Christians, Spaniards as well as natives, to be administered and the immense distance of the territory from the nearest diocese. Realizing the convenience and even a necessity of diocese and great advantage of setting up a particular hierarchy in the Philippines, Pope Gregory XIII erected the first episcopal see of Manila through the bull *Illius Fulti praesidio* on February 5, 1578,[41] with Dominican friar Domingo de Salazar as bishop, previously presented by King Philip II for the see.[42]

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[40] RIBADENEYRA, op. cit. pp. 14-16.

[41] SALAZAR cites this bull in the Act of the Erection of the Cathedral of Manila, Manila 21 de diciembre de 1581. AGI, Fil, 74, r. 1. This bull is printed in Dui, 34, 72, according to SCHAFER, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 211.

[42] SALAZAR, Act of the erection of the Manila Cathedral, December 21, 1581. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

The diocese of Manila was formally erected in 1578 but it was only on December 21, 1581 that the foundation of the diocese was executed through the erection of the Cathedral and the institution of the cathedral chapter. The institution and the erection of the chapter was followed by the act of recognition of the Dominican prelate as the legitimately and canonically instituted bishop of the Philippines by the people and the religious congregations. Solemn high Mass was likewise celebrated. The people then were edified by the sanctity and learning of the bishop sent by the Pope with the previous presentation of the Spanish King.[43]

The Spaniards in the Philippines, ecclesiastical as well as religious, were soon divided in their opinion of the personality of the bishop, for he was a fighter for justice and charity, and there was protracted justice that was to be corrected. He inevitably stepped on the toes of other people, particularly those who did not see eye to eye with him on some matters. One particular case was his fight with the Royal Audiencia of Manila on the question of jurisdiction for which the Bishop was exiled from his episcopal see of Manila.[44]

The diocese of Manila was suffragan of the Archbishop of Mexico, whose see was then presided by Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras.[45] In as much as Manila was a suffragan diocese of Mexico, the legislations laid down by different councils in the metropolitan see had its vigor in the Philippines. In fact, Bishop Salazar was given the convocation for the third Mexican Council presided by Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras at the beginning of 1585.[46] However, on account of the great distance that separated the two sees, Bishop Salazar could not attend the session personally. He sent as his representative Canon Diego Caballero. Bishop Salazar clearly recognized the suffragan status of Manila when he wrote: "Laudable and approved usages and custom of other churches particularly of the Mexican to which by metropolitan right our diocese is subject . . . we can freely and validly apply or adopt for the efficient government of our church."[48]

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[43] Capitulo al Rey. Manila, 20 de mayo 1582, AGI. Fil. 27, r. 1.

[44] SALAZAR al Rey. Balayan, 2 de Junio, 1585. AGI, Pat. 25, r. 2.

[45] GAMS, op. cit. p. 156.

[46] Cf. NAVARRO, **La Iglesia y los Indios en el III Concillo Mexicano (1585)**, pp. 11-19; LORENZANO, **Concilios Provinciales**, p. 14, as cited by HERNAEZ, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 739.

[47] CUERVAS, **Historia de la Iglesia de Mexico**, vol. 2, p. 97; SPECKER, op. cit. p. 38.

[48] SALAZAR, Acts of the erection of the Manila Cathedral Manila, Dec. 21, 1581. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

The extension of the diocese. The whole Philippine archipelago, consisting of around seven thousand islands, was the territory of the diocese of Bishop Domingo de Salazar. "The said Catholic king obtained from His Holiness Pope Gregory XIII the grace to found the cathedral church in the City of Manila . . . to which all remaining Philippine Islands will be governed, ruled and subject by one Catholic bishop who is in communion with the holy Roman Church . . . "[49] The episcopal jurisdiction therefore extends to all the Philippine territory then held by the Spanish crown.

The diocese was well defined with regards to the territory in as much as it comprised the whole Philippine archipelago only; the question of jurisdiction however was not well defined in relation to the religious priests and the civil government; this lack of exactitude in the definition of the jurisdiction with regards to persons was the occasion of the many fights which Bishop Salazar fought. These fights were made more serious and complicated in as much as both parties could make an array of legal arguments to defend their side. As early as 1583, Bishop Salazar, faced with all kinds of administrative difficulties and impediments more particularly in the diocese visits, requested the division of the diocese, for "Luzon is more than enough for me." He recommended a bishop for Cebu and Panay. He even insinuated a petition for resignation from the episcopal office.[50]

The geographico-ethnological features of the early Philippines contributed much to the difficulties which bishop Salazar encountered. The territory was not one whole piece of land, but an archipelago of numerous islands, whose only connection with one another then was by sea. The different dialects of the natives likewise was another source of difficulties. Being the pastor of souls, he was supposed to understand the complaints of the natives, directly and without interpreters if possible; but it was simply too hard to learn so many dialects.

The territorial limits of the diocese was well defined in relation to the Philippine archipelago. However, Bishop Salazar requested the King for a more detailed definition of the territorial extension of the diocese in relation to other groups of islands near the Philippines. He recognized though that the Philippines was more than enough for a diocese, and he reiterated his request for more bishops in the Philippines in this letter. His petition for clarification of the diocesan limit was occasioned by the arrival of a cathedral canon with the authorization from the bishop of Malaca to make the canonical visit in the island of Borneo and Maluco. The Philippine Bishop saw an overlapping of episcopal jurisdiction over these islands.

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[49] Ibid.
[50] SALAZAR Al Rey, Manila, 18 de Junio, 1583. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

His argument however was not strong, for his insinuation of the claim for jurisdiction was based on the proximity of the islands of the episcopal see of the Philippines. The islands of Borneo and Maluco were very much nearer to the Philippine episcopal see than to Malaca. Furthermore, the bishop of Macan claims jurisdiction over the whole territory of China and Japan. But Chinchao, a region of China, was much nearer to the Philippines than to Macan.[51] The bishop overlooked that fact that before the elevation of the Philippines into a hierarchy, even after its constitution as suffragan, it was under the jurisdiction of Mexico. The distance from Mexico to the Philippines was by far more than the distance from the Philippines to any of those Asian bishoprics.

The cathedral of Manila. Arriving at the Philippine shore at the beginning of July 1581, Bishop Salazar waited and worked for some time in the improvement of the building of the cathedral and acquainted himself with the particular circumstances of the places and persons with whom he had to work, and a number of times, to fight, in the implantation and assertion of justice and charity. On December 21, 1581, he elevated the *bamboo* and *nipa* parochial church built in 1571,[52] into a cathedral under the invocation of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady.[53] The condition of this particular building is frankly described by the prelate who was sent to elevate the standard of the standard of the Christianity in that part of the globe.[54]

> I found the church so poor and neglected that it seem to have been reared from childhood without a father or without anybody who remembered it or had taken any care of it... of straw without a sacristy nor place where the Blessed Sacrament could be reserved.... without armament or other equipment necessary for the service of the altar.

This description of the parochial building made into a cathedral may justly be applied to all other churches at the time of arrival of the first bishop of the archipelago, for it can be prudently judged that the bishop chose the best church for the diocesan cathedral. It could be possible though that some churches under the religious were much better off.

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[51] Ibid.

[52] MARTINEZ DE ZUÑIGA, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 220-221.

[53] Act of the erection of the Manila Cathedral, Manila, Dec. 21, 1581, AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

[54] SALAZAR Al Rey Manila, 12 de Junio 1582. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

Support of the Cathedral. For the speedy construction of the cathedral, the king of Spain Philip II issued a series of *cedulas.* The bishop was supposed to be given two ninths of the tithes for the period of ten years.[55] A royal *cedula* of May 13, 1579 provided "the cathedral church should be constructed in the islands and in the place most convenient keeping in mind that the edifice should be moderate and convenient and that the costs for the construction should be shouldered by three entities."[56] One third of the expenses was to be paid for from the royal treasury. The other third part was to be paid by the neighboring *encomenderos,* and the last part was to be collected from the natives of the locality and its neighborhood.

It was furthermore provided that those Indians who belonged to the crown encomiendas be requested to contribute for the construction and all other Spaniards who had no *encomiendas* were requested likewise to make contribution according to their particular social and financial status. Moreover the costs covered by the help outlined by the King were not only those entailed by the construction but also its maintenance, the necessary ornaments and paraphernalla.[57] It seems however that those royal *cedulas* were not executed promptly for the King had to issue another ordinance answering the petition of the cathedral chapter in the letter dated June 25, 1585.[58] The King reaffirmed that the original arrangement of the proposed construction and maintenance by three parts should be maintained and followed.

The royal provisions for the support of the cathedral and its construction did not help much, for indeed those legislations remained for some time in paper. The cathedral chapter had to fight for the execution of those royal *cedulas,* which was appealed later to the Council of the Indies.[59] The case was still not solved in 1588, for the cathedral chapter then petitioned for the speedy resolution of the appealed case on the question of the support of the Cathdral.[60]

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[55] "Real cedula a los oficiales reales de Filipinas comunicandoles que habiendose acordado erigir en Obispado aquellas islas, se ha nombrado por Obispo a Fr. Domingo de Salazar, de la Orden de Sto. Domingo, que va a fundar iglesia catedral y residir en ella; haciendole merced por diez años de los dos novenos de los diezmos." Aranjuez, 22 de mayo de 1579. AGI, Fil. 74. r. 1.

[56] "Real cedula al gobernador de Filipinas sobre la edificacion de la iglesia catedral de aquellas islas." Aranjuez, 13 de mayo de 1579 AGI. Fil. 339 (Lib. 1. Fo 154 a 154 vo, 2).

[57] "Copia de real cedula al gobernador de Filipinas para que la iglesia catedral se haga por tercias partes: Real Hacienda, españoles e indios, y que se provea de ornamentos y cosas necesarias para el culto divino." Guadalupe, 26 de Marzo de 1580. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1

[58] "Real cedula al Cabildo eclesiastico de Manila, contestando a su carta de 25 de junio de 1585, sobre materias eclesiasticas." Madrid, 11 de enero de 1587. AGI. Fil. 339 (Lib. 1. 2a parte fo. 147).

[59] SALAZAR Al Rey, Manila, 18 de junio de 1583. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

There was a concatenation of causes for the lack of support for the construction and maintenance of the cathedral building. First, there was a general and very serious poverty reigning in the islands occasioned, and perhaps caused, by the cruelties, injustices and brutalities and in general bad administration of the early *conquistadores.*[61] Pest of locusts in 1583 likewise contributed much to the poverty of the people in the territory.[62]

Finally, the help for the construction of the cathedral was not coming on time, though it had been provided for before the coming of the first bishop of the Philippines. The Philippine bishop did what was in his capacity to make the building worthy of the divine cult, spending his own money and even helping in the construction of the church and city houses out of stones. As a reward for his generous work, he was given an indemnity of three thousand pesos from the tributes.[63] However, even if the effort of the bishop was to improve the cathedral edifice, nevertheless, when already finished or at least improved, a number of fires destroyed it [64] together with a great part of the city of Manila. The building was quite improved already but the fire of February 1583 razed it to the ground.[65] During the time of the construction of the cathedral, the divine cult was celebrated in Santa Ana hermitage. In 1588 the work on the building was stopped on account of the lack of funds, for there were no rentals nor lands from which they could continue the proposed work and on the other hand, the financial support provided for by the king was not paid promptly. It was indeed a great disgrace for the cathedral chapter to celebrate the divine services before the converts, and visitors as Chinese, Japanese and natives, for they held the divine services in building "of straws and bamboo . . . bathing themselves in water in seasons of rain."[66] As late as 1589, the cathedral build-

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[60] Capitulo al Rey, Manila, 25 de junio de 1588. AGI. Fil. 77, r. 1.

[61] Confer for examples of the bad administration and wicked conduct of the early conquistadores in the Philippines which caused, at least occasioned, the poverty of the islands, Memorial de Salazar, AGI. Fil, 6, r. 2. and Fil. 74, r. 1. (no date and place) Probably written between 1583 and 1584.

[62] SALAZAR Al Rey, Manila, 18 de junio de 1583. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

[63] "Consulta original del consejo de indias sobre que se den al obispo de Manila tres mil pesos de indemnizacion por los muchos gastos que ha hecho en beneficio de la poblacion, construyendo casas de canterias, comprando terrenos para edificar iglesias, etc." Madrid, 12 de abril de 1590. AGI. Fil. 1, r. 4; "Asiento de una consulta proponiendo se concedan 3,000 pesos en tributos vacos al Obispo de Filipinas, por que gasto en beneficio de su iglesia y feligreses" (no place) 12 de abril de 1590. AGI. Indiferente 583 (fo. 1).

[64] SALAZAR Al Rey, Manila, 18 de junio de 1583. AGI, Fil. 74, r. 1; RONQUILLO al Rey, Manila 20 de junio de 1583, AIG. Fil. 6, r. 1; Oficiales reales al Rey, Manila, 18 de junio de 1583.

[65] SALAZAR Al Rey, Manila, 18 de junio de 1583. AGI. Fil. 74, r. 1.

ing was still *nipa*. Thus the Memorial of the "Universal junto" of 1589 states:[67]

> The cathedral of these islands has no buildings nor ornaments nor appearance proper to the divine cult nor rental or alms for this poor for the sacristans... nor for other necessary ministers; and being of wood and straw, so poor and dilapidated and neglected that it is a disgrace to our faith.

Finally in 1593 the building seemed to have been finished. The imposition and demand of Governor Gomez Dasmariñas for the placing of the coat of arms of the crown of Spain initiated a heated fight between the cathedral chapter and the governor.[68] There was serious fighting occasioned by the construction of the cathedral of Manila on account of the royal subsidy which was not promptly paid or totally denied, and even when finished, on account of the placing of the coat of arms of the kings side of the seal of St. Peter. Whenever it was possible to have the Blessed Sacrament reserved, there were always two sanctuaries, "one for the Spaniards and the other for the Indians; during the day, the administration was made in one chapel, but there were always two parish priests."[69] The reason behind this arrangement is subject to guess among the historians.

Manila as a Metropolitan see. One of the motives of the sojourn of Bishop Salazar in Madrid in the early 1691's was to petition the crown to make the supplication to the Holy See for the division of the diocese. There were many inconveniences in the administration of the diocese which could be easily solved through the elevation of the diocese into the status of a metropolitan see. The metropolitan see of Mexico to which Manila was a suffragan, was very far. Besides, the dioceses, consisting of so many islands widely dispersed, could not be efficiently governed by one bishop alone, nor could the pastoral visits be made in due time. Bishop Salazar did not let the occasion pass without presenting the pastoral status of the diocese to the King. To him belongs the honor of having petitioned for the elevation of the diocese into a metropolitan see,[70] though he did not enjoy the fruits of his labor, for he died in Madrid on December 4, 1594.

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[67] "Memorial de los particulares que la Junta Universal de Manila representa al Consejo para que en cada uno de ellos ponga el remedio que viere convenir." Manila, 19 de abril 11, 1958. AGI, Fil. 77, r. 1.

[68] "Informacion hecho en Manila sobre la oposicion del cabildo eclesiastico a que se colocara en la puerta de la catedral un escudo de piedra mandado poner alli por el Gobernador Gomez Perez Dasmariñas." AGI Pat. 25, r. 44; Dasmariñas al Rey, Manila, 20 de junio de 1583, AIG, Pat. 25, r. 52.

[69] ZUÑIGA, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 220-221.

On June 14, 1595, King Philip II wrote to his ambassador to the Holy see to make the necessary supplication for the elevation of the diocese of Manila into a metropolitan and the foundation of three new dioceses.[71] Clement VIII canonically raised the status of the diocese of Manila into a metropolitan see with three new suffragan bihoprics in the archipelago on August 14, 1595.[72] The three new dioceses were Nueva Segovia, Nueva Caceres and Cebu. With the establishment of a metropolitan see in the Philippines, Manila was permanently separated from the metropolitan jurisdiction of Mexico. The first archbishop of Manila, Fr. Ignacio de Santibañez, O.P., though presented and elected in 1595, took possession of the archdiocese * on August 4, 1598 and died three months later. The suffragan bishops were Miguel de Benavides, O.P., (Nueva Segovia), Fr. Pedro de Agusto, O.S.A. (Cebu) and Fr. Luis Maldonado, O.F.M.[73]

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[70] Consulta del Consejo Real al Rey, June 24, 1595, as cited by SCHAFER, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 212. Likewise, CHIRINO, in COLIN-PASTELLS, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 194 ss, claims the elevation of the diocese through the instance of Bishop Salazar.

[71] SCHAFER, op. cit. vol. 2, pp. 211-212.

[72] GAMS, op. cit. p. 113.

[73] For lists of the successors of the archbishop and bishops of the four new dioceses, the following may be consulted: GAMS, ibid, pp. 112, ss; SCHAFFER, op. cit. p. 581; pp. 585-588; HERNAEZ, **Coleccion de Bulas**, vol. 2, pp. 342-346.

* **Editor's note:** Neither the date of presentation and election nor the actual taking of possession of a see has ecclesiastical character and significance. What is important is the date of consistorial promotion which, in the case of Fr. Ignacio de Santibañez, O.P., took place on August 30, 1595. See "Episcopal Succession in the Philippines," by Dr. Domingo Abella published in **Philippine Studies**, Vol. 7, No. 4, October 1959, Ateneo de Manila, Loyola Heights, Quezon City, which is based on primary documents in the **Vatican Secret Archives** in Rome and in the **Archivo general de Indias** in Seville.

NOLI *AND* FILI: *THEIR HISTORICAL AUTHENTICITY*

By Carlos Quirino *

The author identifies the personages and events of historic authenticity in the two novels of Dr. Jose Rizal and shows the great impartiality of the national hero as a story-teller.

In these days of jet propulsion, astronauts, jam sessions and the twist, I have noticed that the younger generation of Filipinos are beginning to regard our national hero as "dated" and "a square" to be relegated in the same forgotten limbo as the Pleistocene artifacts to be found at our National Museum. I fervently hope I am mistaken, for it would speak ill of our young men and women should they ever forget or speak disparagingly of the greatest individual produced by the Malay race—a man who dedicated his whole life, his thoughts, efforts and even sacrificed his life for an ideal—the freedom of his country and the dignification of the brown man. Once, not too long ago, I heard a young squirt remark that the novels of Rizal were probably only *"balitang cochero"*, that term popularized during the last war to signify a figment of the imagination without basis or fact. I do not know where this student got that idea—perhaps he was just being flippant as befitting the very young, or perhaps the very same group of reactionaries whom Rizal fought in his lifetime are still active in belittling his memory. I don't know. But I do know that Rizal's two novels, the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo,* are based on *actual personages* who lived in the Philippines at the time the books were written. Even the descriptions of houses and places are true to life, and they existed here in our country up to the end of the Spanish regime.

Let us start with the very first page of the first book, the *Noli,* with a description of the house of Capitán Tiago where a feast was being given. In this opening scene, Rizal even mentions the street where the mansion was located, on Calle Anloague—so named because it was *originally* a street of *anluwagi,* the Tagalog word for carpenters—and now renamed Juan Luna Street. "It is a rather large building," says the author, "in the style of many in the country...

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* Director of Public Libraries.

it is somewhat low and not exactly correct in all its lines. A wide staircase with green newels and carpeted steps leads from the tiled entrance up to the main floor between rows of flower pots set upon pedestals of motley colored and fantastically decorated Chinese porcelain. . . If we go upstairs we immediately find ourselves in a spacious hallway, called there for some unknown reason the *caida,* which tonight serves as the dining room and at the same time affords a place for the orchestra. In the center is a large table profusely and expensively decorated. . ." On the walls motley paintings representing religious matters have been hung; from the ceiling costly Chinese lanterns, "bird cages without birds; red, green and blue globes of frosted glass; faded air plants; and dried and inflated fishes which they call *botetes.* The view is closed on the side of the river by curious wooden arches, half Chinese and half European, affording glimpses of a terrace with arbors and bowers faintly lighted by paper lanterns of many colors."

Easily a score of Manila houses of that period could have fitted this description of the mansion of Capitán Tiago. According to Rizal himself, this house belonged to a certain rich resident named Balbino Mauricio. If today you drive south on Juan Luna street from the bridge of San Fernando, parallel the estero de Binondo, it is that lot to the right at the corner of Callejon Rentas. General José Alejandrino, companion of Rizal, believes that the house formerly belonged to Telesforo Chuidian, a very rich Chinese *mestizo* of Batangas, because his wife (Don Telesforo's daughter) had been born there. During the American regime, it housed the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and that is why the small street at its corner has been dubbed "Rentas." It was destroyed during the liberation of Manila, and only the broken down masonry walls of the ground floor remain as mute testimony to the grandeur it once possessed.

The town of San Diego is, of course, Rizal's own birthplace—Calamba. Rizal mentions other towns and sites of the Philippines in his two novels, but he does not mask them with pseudonyms because there was no need to do so.

The hero of the novels, Crisostomo Ibarra, is a composite character with much of Rizal himself as the prototype. The claim has been made that Vicente Ilustre of Batangas was the model for Ibarra, but Don Vicente was a much younger man—by eleven years—whom Rizal had never met; in all probability there were other young Filipinos who returned recently from Europe who served Rizal better for the purpose; and Rizal could always visualize himself in the role of his idealistic hero to determine how he would act on any given situation.

One of the principal characters, Capitán Tiago, is again a composite type prevalent in those days. Perhaps no one single person could fit his description, althought contemporaries claim that three individuals in the islands could easily pass for him: Telesforo Chuidian, a certain Manuel Buenaventura and another businessman from Malabon who had amassed great wealth mainly because he was in the good graces of the ecclesiastical authorities. Buenaventura and Chuidian formed a large commercial partnership whose office was precisely located at Calle Anloague.

As for the third principal character, Father Dámaso, let me quote from Antonio Ma. Regidor, the Filipino lawyer who lived in exile in London as a result of the Cavite Mutiny of 1872: "Who does not know Padre Dámaso? Ah, I have dealt with him; and although in the brilliant picturization of the novel he carries the dirty clothes of a Franciscan, always coarse, always tyrannical and continuously corrupt, in real Philippine life I have studied and dealt with him, now clothed sometimes in the white habit of an Augustinian, now as a Franciscan the way you have presented him, and at other times with the bare feet and tunic of a seemingly learned Recollect."

But it is in the secondary and minor characters of his two novels, the *Noli* and the *Fili,* that Rizal paints pen portraits from life. Take that ludicrous pair, Doña Victorina and her husband Don Tiburcio de Espadaña, the lame Spaniard who made people believe he was a physician when in reality he was not; this was a couple who actually lived in Manila and cut a swath in society of that epoch. They were Dña. Agustina Medel, a wealthy native woman who owned the Teatro Zorrilla and other urban properties, married to an impoverished peninsular from Spain known as Coca, a balding stutterer dominated by his wife. Doña Victorina was the Filipina who outherodded Herod in pretending she was a pure blooded Castilian, by aping their speech, dress and mannerisms to the extent of demanding that she be addressed "doctora" as a courtesy to the nonexistent title of her husband! When Rizal returned to the archipelago after his first sojourn in Europe, Dña. Agustina went to see him to ask if it was true she had been alluded to in the *Noli,* and Rizal replied: "Señora, I have tried to make my book a faithful mirror, and if you have looked into it and seen your image there, I regret the fault is not mine."

Padre Florentino, the native priest who tends to Simoun or Crisostomo Ibarra in his dying hours, is no other than Father Leoncio Lopez, the parish priest of Calamba when Rizal was a boy; the very same individual who doubted Rizal's ability as a poet and who came to Manila to apologize to the young Ateneo student when he learned that young José was truly a gifted and promising writer.

The renowned lawyer, señor Pasta, is no other than Cayetano Arellano, who has been pilloried by Rizal for refusing to help his fellow countrymen out of fear of endangering his social and legal position in the community. You will remember that this barrister was designated as the first Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Malolos Republic but never took office. The reason, according to General Alejandrino, is that he demanded from President Emilio Aguinaldo the release of friars who had been captured during the revolution; and when told that it was not proper to do so at that historic moment, "he declined the invitation [to join the Mabini cabinet] alleging that he was leading such a methodical life that he would not risk his precious health by suffering the privations and inconveniences of life in Malolos." There is no denying the legal talent of Don Cayetano, for by collaborating with the new conquerors, the Americans, he was subsequently appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

A string of personalities of that epoch are mentioned in the two novels by Rizal: such theatrical luminaries as Chananay, the familiar name for Valeriana; Ratia (Nemesio) a native artist who appeared in several *zarzuelas* in the city after having worked at the Teatro Felipe in Madrid, around 1877-8; Carvajal (José) a mestizo who played the role of a comic superbly in various plays; and Yeyeng, the stage name for Praxedes Fernandez, a disciple of the Spanish actress Elisea Raguer who came to Manila about 1880. Yeyeng later became the most celebrated *artiste* of her generation. The Fonda de Lala is mentioned: this was an inn owned and established by Lala Ari, a British Indian, whose cuisine was renowned throughout the city; the hotel was first located at Barraca now Plaza del Conde in Binondo, and had 35 rooms for guests, together with a lecture and billiard rooms, numerous baths and a large stable for horses.

Then, it goes without saying, appears the name of the most famous alien in the country—the Chino Quiroga, who bribed and pandered his way to the topmost rung in the financial circles of the colony. This person was no other than an opulent Chinese merchant of Manila named Veloso who, in the words of the Spanish historian Wenceslao E. Retana, owned "a great department store in the manner of the great bazars in Europe and who, according to gossip, had rooms *ad hoc* on the main floor of his house where certain friars of Manila who were not enjoying as much independence as those from the provinces, celebrated interviews *non sanctas;* and whispers added that this Chinese himself arranged for the meetings." General Alejandrino believes that Quiroga was another prominent merchant of that time, because in their conversations Rizal had never referred to Veloso; and that this alien was Carlos Palanca, who had been awarded the Grand Cross of Isabella by a grateful colonial government. Incidentally, Alejandrino relates a conversation he had with Palanca during the Philippine revolution, when the latter said: "That Aguinaldo is no person, he is angel. I speak to him of business where we can make much money. I provide brains, labor and money. He only put up saliva, but he no like. That man—he no person—he angel." This business referred to by the alien, which General Aguinaldo had spurned, was an opium monopoly under the Malolos Republic.

Rizal's own family did not escape from his trenchant pen. The Filosofo Tasio, whom Regidor believed to be a notorious quack named Francisco Rodriguez, was patterned in some ways on the author's own brother, Paciano Rizal. His mother, Dña. Teodora Alonzo, is pictured as Sister Pute who admonishes her granddaughter accomplished by a pinch to arouse the child's piety. When they first met in Calamba after his European studies, one of her first words to him were: "Son, you have not spared even myself in your book."

The sinister Fray Salvi was an actual individual whom gossip had linked with nefarious goings on at the Santa Clara nunnery, while Fray Sibyla, vice rector of the pontifical university, was Bernardino Nozaleda who became Archbishop of Manila. The closing scene in the Noli, wherein a Spanish official sees an apparition in white on the roof of the Santa Clara nunnery during a thunderstorm, is based on an actual occurrence that happened to Rafael Comenge who reported it to the authorities with the frustrating results described in the novel.

The pitiful story of the two sacristans, Crispin and Basilio, had their real life counterpart in San Rafael, Bulacan, in Fray Antonio de Piernavieja, who was believed responsible for the death of a sacristan and a pregnant woman in his convent; you can read about it in the Catholic traveler John Foreman's book "The Philippine Islands," the second edition printed in 1899. This Agustinian was transferred to Cavite province, where Divine Providence finally caught up with him, for he was put to death by the rebels tied to a stake in the tropic sun after they had found out that he had been spying for the enemy. Padre Irene, Fray Salvi's spy in the French operetta troupe that visited Manila, was in reality an Alsatian Jew who had been recommended to an overseas post by the Spanish ambassador to Paris, on the importunities of a ballerina, according to Rizal; somehow, this lay individual succeeded in deceiving the local religious authorities that he was an ordained priest and acted even as ecclesastical governor in the absence of the archbishop.

These are the figures and events in the two novels that are of historic authenticity, and known to us today because of references about them in memoirs and letters of the contemporaries of Rizal. Other events seemed to have been prophesied by the author, for they occurred shortly after the book was written: the refusal to grant Christian burial to a relative of the Rizals, Mariano Herbosa, paralleling that of the father of Crisostomo Ibarra; the request to open a school in San Diego that later on prompted Rizal to send his famous epistle to the women of Malolos; the fate of Cabesang Tales and a similar experience suffered by the family of Rizal; and so forth and so on, which we cannot take up for lack of time.

In writing these two novels, Rizal was admittedly a nationalist, but he did not pillory Spaniards just because they were not of his race, nor did he praise Filipinos solely because they were his countrymen. He was too good an artist, a writer, to vitiate his novels with falsehoods or gross exaggerations: he was an impartial story teller who held up the mirror of truth for all readers to see. Writing to his bosom friend Ferdinand Blumentritt on March 28, 1889, he said: "In my work there are noble and honorable Spaniards, like the Governor General, Lieutenant Guevara and Don Tiburcio himself. There are also bad *indios*, worse even than various Spaniards. My adadversaries would like me to portray the penisulars like angels and the Filipinos like stupid men, without drawing distinctions. This is not only folly but also an imitation of Spanish writers, and I do not do this." As to the authenticity of the *Noli* and the *Fili*, the final evidence can be found in the words of Rizal himself in a letter he wrote in French dated March, 1887: "The incidents I relate are all true and they happened; I can give proofs of them. My book will have, and it has, defects from the artistic and aesthetic point of view. I do not deny it; but what cannot be questioned is the impartiality of my narration."

THE MINDANAO PHASE OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION *

By F. Delor Angeles

In delineating the events in Mindanao during the Philippine Revolution, the writer concludes with an observation that the nationalist movement in that island supports the theory that the Philippine Revolution was "French" rather than "Russian." The organizers and leaders of the nationalist movement in Mindanao was "petty bourgeois" rather than "proletariat."

AT THE CLOSE of the nineteenth century, the Spaniards were engaged in finishing a weary task they began in the sixteenth century —namely, the conquest of Mindanao. They had secured the fringes of the great island and were hammering away at the *kotas* of the proud Maranaws across the Lake of Lanao.

Then, in 1896, the Philippine Revolution under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio broke out in Luzon. As a result of this development, Governor-General Blanco was compelled to withdraw his forces from Lanao and to cease military operations against the Muslims.

Meanwhile, the Katipunan had sent secret agents to Mindanao to rally its Christian Filipino population to the revolutionary cause. These agents failed to obtain civilian support; but were able to stir up a mutiny of 300 native soldiers in Fort Victoria, Iligan who killed their Spanish officers and fled to the nearby hills. But in Jolo an alert governor, General Huertas, foiled the plans for mutiny of some 68 Filipino soldiers. Understandably, the Spaniards became jittery at the discovery of these plots—of 8,000 government troops in Mindanao, 6,000 were Filipinos.

With the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Spanish forces in Mindanao were ordered to concentrate in Zamboanga, capital for the whole island. As soon as these forces were withdrawn, revolutionary governments acknowledging the authority of

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* This modest preparation is dedicated to Fr. H. de la Costa, S.J., Historian, and to Professor Esteban de Ocampo, Rizalist. The author wishes to express his gratitude for material used in this paper to Renato Constantino, Curator, and Miss Erlinda Borlongan, Librarian, of the Lopez Museum; to Dean Manuel Gapuz of Xavier University; and to Lieutenant Clementino Chaves of Cagayan de Oro City.

President Aguinaldo were organized in Christian communities by the local *principalia,* sometimes with the cooperation of undisciplined *deportados* or persons from the north exiled by the Spanish government to Iligan, Jolo, Zamboanga, and other places for one reason or another.

In Cagayan de Misamis the revolutionary government was organized by Jose Roa, Manuel Corrales, and Pio Roa, all of the *principalia.*[1] Carloto Sariol, reputedly enjoying "much prestige" among the Maranaws, became "presidente" of Iligan.

General Nicolas Capistrano became the most important military leader of the revolutionaries in Mindanao. His forces, which operated in the Cagayan de Misamis area, was "large, well-organized, and well-led." The Americans who succeeded the Spaniards to sovereignty over the archipelago, described the General as "a man of considerable education and honorable character."[2]

In western Misamis, Rufino Deloso commanded the revolutionary detachment. In Surigao Toribio Sison was the revolutionary leader. These Filipino officials, whether civil or military, were loyal to Malolos, a fact which they made clear to American military commanders who attempted to negotiate the early surrender to the revolutionaries.

The revolutionary government in Cagayan de Misamis proved to be the most stable in Mindanao. The organization in Cotabato early came to grief. The Magindanaw datus, Piang, Ali, and Djimbangan (Guimbagan?) overwhelmed the local revolutionary militia and subsequently executed the Christian Filipino officials. As an interesting aftermath, reported Secretary Dean Worcester of the Philippine Commission, Datu Djimbangan "promptly caused the Filipina women of the place to be stripped and compelled to march before him on the public plaza in a state of nudity."[3]

The revolutionary officials in Iligan succeeded in negotiating peace with the Maranaws; but easily submitted when American landing parties appeared off its coasts. Dapitan surrendered peacefully, and then, readily supplied the United States Army with recruits for its native souct units. No difficulties attended American landings in Davao, Basilan, Jolo, Cotabato, and in other points in northern Mindanao, except in Cagayan de Misamis, where revolutionaries offered slight resistance before fleeing to upland areas to organize guerilla warfare.

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[1] Interview with Lieutenant Clementino Chaves, veteran of the Revolution, in Cagayan de Oro in January, 1960.

[2] United States, War Department, **Annual Report of Major General Arthur MacArthur** (Manila: n.p., 1901), Vol. I, Appendix P, 5-6. Henceforth cited as **MacArthur Report of 1901.**

[3] Dean C. Worcester, **The Philippines, Past and Present** (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914), Vol. I, 228.

The nationalist movement in Zamboanga, after an auspicious beginning, developed into a petty civil war. The revolutionaries, after seizing arms and ammunition from Spanish gunboats, laid siege to the Spanish garrison, forcing it to abandon Fort Pilar and at the same time fatally wounding General Montero. Afterwards, the revolutionaries divided, the *ilustrados* quarreling with the *deportado* faction. There were some robbing and killing. The Muslims who helped in the attack on the Spanish forces were disgusted, and their leader, Datu Mandi, offered to take the town for the Americans. Finally, the combatants themselves invited the United States forces to occupy Zamboanga to restore peace and order.

At the outset, American strategy considered the neutralization of the Muslims. General John C. Bates concluded a treaty with the Sultan at Jolo, making Sulu an American "protectorate." Secondly, negotiations were conducted with Christian Filipinos and hostilities were opened only when the talks failed.

President Aguinaldo appealed in vain for Muslim support. On January 19, 1899 he wrote the following letter to the Sultan of Sulu:

> The President of the Philippine Republic very cordially greets his great and powerful brother, the Sultan of Jolo, and makes known:
>
> That the Filipinos, after having thrown off the yoke of foreign domination cannot forget their brothers of Jolo to whom they are bound by the ties of race, interests, security and defense in this region of the Far East.
>
> The Philippine Republic has resolved to respect absolutely the beliefs and traditions of each island in order to establish on solid bases the bonds of fraternal unity demanded by our mutual interests.
>
> I therefore in the name of all the Filipinos very gladly offer to the powerful Sultan of Jolo and to all brothers who acknowledge his great authority, the highest assurance of friendship, consideration and esteem.[4]

The President's brother, Baldomero, "Lieutenant General Superior P. M. Commander of the Southern Region," penned a more elaborate letter to the Sultan; but apparently, the Muslims could not easily forget that Christian Filipinos aided the hated Spanish enemy in the "Moro Wars."

Fighting was confined to northern Mindanao, from the hills of western Misamis to the heavily wooded coasts of Surigao. American gunboats would shell revolutionary positions before landing parties were set ashore. In Cagayan, after the naval bombardment, the Americans entered the Cagayan River in steam launches and captured the town from the rear. In Puerto Princesa a small revolutionary unit surrendered ceremoniously to an American expedition from Zamboanga; but the main revolutionary force under Sandoval, which was trapped in northern Palawan, bravely replied with rifle fire to swelling by the United States gunboat, *Samar*. In one instance, rebel artillery concealed in thick vegetation along the banks of the Agusan River, ambushed the gunboat, *Calamianes;* but the native gunners ran away when the *Calamianes* retaliated.

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[4] "Philippine Insurgent Records," Books C-L, cited in **Ibid.**

As to be expected, the Americans were well armed. Besides a sufficient supply of rifles, they possessed machine guns and field artillery. On the other hand, the revolutionaries carried an odd assortment of rifles and shotguns of various patterns, spears, and an "unlimited number" of bolos. The Filipinos possessed some brass cannons which were of limited range and were no match to the field artillery of the enemy.

The Americans, following a pattern they began in Luzon, employed Filipino scouts to help track the revolutionaries. These scouts were trained by non-commissioned officers of the United States Army who complained at the beginning that their recruits were lacking in discipline and sense of responsibility. Moreover, these native recruits were not trusted at first by their foreign officers; although, later they proved their loyalty and were recognized for their "satisfactory" scouting. In fact, the surrender in the Agusan watershed of a nationalist guerrilla chief, Daniel Toribio, was attributed by the American command to "the fear [of the enemy's native scouts] which prevailed" among his men.

The nationalist officers appeared to have an inkling of military tactics; but most of their men had little or no training. In an assault on the enemy garrison in Cagayan soon after the Americans had occupied the town, the revolutionary troops made much noise while still far from their objectives, thus losing the advantage of surprise. Only a single revolutionary, a certain Pabayo, was able to scale the enemy barracks; and he was killed before he could slash the enemy with his bolo.

In the attack on Loculan, 4 miles from Misamis, the Filipinos turned out to be more crafty. Pretending to be friendly civilians, nationalist partisans stabbed the sentinel of the enemy garrison. Simultaneously, riflemen and bolomen rushed the barracks from nearby buildings. However, the revolutionaries succeeded only in killing a few Americans and were beaten off by a determined enemy counter-attack.

The Filipinos fared better with guerrilla tactics. Failing to recapture their towns from the Americans, they intrenched themselves in rough country where they ambushed enemy patrols. Usually, their fortifications consisted of two or three lines of trenches hidden by thick vegetation with pitfalls on the periphery. Unwary enemy soldiers often were paled, like wild boar, by sharp bamboo stakes in these traps.

Guerrillas are more effective when supported by the civilian population. Like their comrades in Luzon and the Visayas, the nationalists in Mindanao enjoyed this support from the people. An American officer reporting the situation in his area commented, thus: "These [municipal] presidentes are uncertain quantities, as a rule, and I do not place too much confidence in them." Civilians contributed supplies to the guerrillas. Church bells warned of the approach of American troops, and wounded nationalists were often passed off by the townspeople as mere civilians caught in crossfire.

But the nationalist cause was doomed. Leadership in Luzon was weakened by internal strife, tragically ending in the assassination of General Antonio Luna. Then, competent leaders like Cayetano Arellano lost faith in the Malolos government and deserted to the Americans. Nationalists in Indonesia or in Algeria, rising in armed rebellion in recent times, achieved their aims to a large extent because they obtained diplomatic support and military aid from sympathetic nation-states. In 1899 the nationalist movement in the Philippines was the first of its kind in Asia, its only sympathizer being Japan, and then this country could not give effective support to Malolos under the threat of displeasure from the West.

On March 23, 1901 President Aguinaldo was captured in Palanan by Funston's detachment. In Mindanao the revolutionary leaders surrendered one by one until General Capistrano himself gave up on March 27 with 200 of his men.

In conclusion, we wish to propose an observation regarding the nationalist movement in Mindanao. Historical evidence from this period support the theory of Leon Ma. Guerrero that the Philippine Revolution was "French," rather than "Russian" as suggested by Teodoro Agoncillo. The organizers of the nationalist movement, particularly in Misamis, were "petty bourgeois," rather than proletariat. There was some conflict between "upper class" and "lower class," as in the petty civil war in Zamboanga. On the whole, however, it was a case of a people roused to nationalistic sentiments, whose struggle was directed primarily against foreign colonizers, the Spaniards and, then, the Americans.

ANALOGOUS CUSTOMS, BELIEFS AND TRADITIONS IN INDIA AND THE PHILIPPINES *

By Juan R. Francisco **

In this scholarly paper the author notes interesting parallelisms of certain culture aspects of India and the Philippines, particularly on religion, betrothal and marriage, desire for children, birth customs, birth chamber precautions, death and disposal of the death, spirits and ghosts, sacrifice, omens, practical arts, and other beliefs, traditions and practices.

Introduction. Research in the ethnological evidence of Indo-Philippine contacts in ancient times has proved comparatively difficult to handle. This may be due to the rather faint traces of Hindu culture in the Islands. Or, the "similarities" of the customs, manners, beliefs and practical arts of the peoples (including perhaps the tribal groups) of the Islands and India appear to be fortuitous. Moreover, these "similarities" appear more illusive to the ethnologist than he would expect. It is not, however, altogether too difficult to distinguish the native character of the Filipinos from the alien qualities which may have borrowed from sources, like India.

Though evidently overlaid with the influence of Christian beliefs and Islamic customs and traditions,[1] the lives of the Christian

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* Being a paper read before the ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF MADRAS, September 9, 1958, at the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras, South India. The present paper, however, is entirely revised for publication.

A few of the Notes remain unverified in the present form, for the paper was originally written in Madras, where some of the materials utilized are available (but unavailable in the Philippines). However, it is hoped that it will create some amount of thinking among workers in the field.

The present paper comes out in the wake of the work of Professors Teodoro Agoncillo and Oscar Alfonso, HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES (Diliman, 1960), where a section on India influences in the Philippines is included. It is hoped that the present paper will supplement the section, and at the same time supersede some of the doubtful references.

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[1] According to the Census of 1948, there are 90 per centum Christians (87 Roman Catholics, 3 Protestants); 8 per centum Muslims; 2 per centum indigenous splinter Christian groups — Philippine Independent Catholic Church and Iglesia ni Kristo groups, and non-Christian and non-Islamic groups occupying the mountain regions.

Filipinos whose conversion commenced in the 16th century[2] and of the Muslim Filipinos whose conversion started in the late 14th century,[3] still show faint traces of the influences of the Hindu way of life. For in a great number of cases, notwithstanding the more than one thousand years that the two religious systems (Islamic and Christian) superseded the Hindu way of life, if it really had some amount of influence in the lives of the people from earliest times,[4] this way of life appear rather pervasive even among these Christianized or Islamized Filipinos. Moreover, despite the overwhelming imposition of a western material civilization, the people, particularly those living in the remote villages, still possess customs, manners, and beliefs which appear strange yet explainable only according to an entirely alien orientation.

These non-linguistic evidences[5] may well be independent developments, yet they are apparent enough to merit attention at this point of ethnological research. Where probable direct or indirect influence can not be proved through the intervening localities, parallels on various points presented shall be drawn. It is nevertheless, significant that, too, these parallel elements may have a common source now unknown to scholars.

It must, however, be understood that the customs, manners, and traditions of the Filipinos shown to be Indian in origin had arrived to the Islands at a time before and during the years of the coming of the Muslims and the Spaniards. Historically, Indian influences began to percolate into Malaysia as early as c. A.D. 197. But, they did not become pronounced till the ascendancy of the Srī Vijaya and Majapahit hegemonies (c. 6th — early 15th centuries A.D.), whose orientations had been shown to be Indian.

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[2] *Vide* A. Pigafetta, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, vol. xxxiii, p. 153, ff.

[3] *Vide* Genealogy of the Sulu Sultans, in Najeeb M. Saleeby, HISTORY OF SULU (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1905).

[4] Cf. R. B. Dixon, "Recent Archaelogical Discoveries in the Philippines," PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, lxix, 1930, p. 225-229.

[5] *Vide* F. R. Blake, "Sanskrit Loan-Words in Tagalog," Johns Hopkins University, CIRCULARS, xxii, 163, June, 1903. H. Kern, "Sanskritsche Woorden in het Tagala," BIDRAGEN TOT DE TAAL-LAND-EN VOLKENKUNDE, iv, 1880 (Rep. in VERSPREIDE GESCHRIFTEN, X, 1922) and "Sanskritsche Woorden in het Bisaya," BIJDRAGEN TOT DE TAAL-LAND-EN VOLKENKUNDE, v, 1881 (Rep. in VERSPREIDE GESCHRIFTEN, X, 1922). T. Minguella, "Estudios Comparativos entre el Tagalog y el Sanscrito," EXPOSICION DE FILIPINAS: COLECCION DE ARTICULOS PUBLICADO EN EL GLOBO, Madrid, 1887. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, EL SANSCRITO EN LA LENGUA TAGALOG. Paris, 1887.

A Review of all these papers has been written by Juan R. Francisco, "Sanskrit Loan Words in the Philippine Languages," ADYAR LIBRARY BULLETIN, xxiv, 3-4, 1960. *Vide* also his doctoral dissertation, INDIAN INFLUENCES IN THE PHILIPPINES (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE), University of Madras, India, 1963. (pending approval)

We may safely conjecture that, if the customs, manners, and traditions were of Indian origin, they may have percolated to the Islands from the 9th century A.D. till the coming of the Spaniards, and were brought by both the Hinduised and Islamized Malays and Indonesians. Thus, the following pages may be read in the context of this historical background.

Religion. One of the notices[6] by a foreign visitor in the vestiges of a Hindu worship in the Philippines shows that in various parts of Luzon "not a doubt can exist that this was the prevailing religion all over the isles antecedent to the introduction of Islam..." Further on, the visitor remarked that "at Solon Solon in the province of Hocos (Ilocos?) I met several of the unconverted Indians,[7] much in the appearance of the Hindus in their dress, ornaments, etc. The padri[8] of the district informed me these infelices[9] were of the Hindu persuasion and that neither force nor persuasion had as yet enabled the Spaniards to convert them from their idolatrous worship..."

Whether or not they were actually practising the Hindu religion, it is difficult to affirm or deny, for no other evidences showing that they were Hindus except in the manner of dress and ornaments have been cited. Furthermore, judging from the citation above, even the dresses and ornaments were not described, thus giving no further basis for comparative study. The district of Solon Solon apparently is unidentifiable, although the province where it is supposed to be situated may phonetically correspond to the name of two provinces, the Ilokos, in the northwestern part of Luzon.[10] However, the identification or equation of Hocos in the notice with the present Ilokos provinces is, on philological grounds, doubtful.

Betrothal and Marriage. Surviving pre-hispanic and/or pre-Islamic betrothal practices are found only among the early tribes that were pushed into the wilderness after their contacts with later migrants who might have lent the former some of their customs. A South Indian use of the *tali* [11] as a sign of married life tied around the neck of the bride by the groom and his sister at the marriage ceremony may be traced among or perhaps assumed to be an influence upon the Negrito tribes of Northern Luzon.[12] Although its use as a sign of married life has been prevalent among the South Indians, it may have had a significance as a symbol of betrothal in earlier times,[13] which sign may have migrated to the Islands via the intervening localities, though it may be seen that it is lost among the more civilized groups, no vestige of which may be traced.

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[6] J. H. Moor, NOTICES OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES. Singapore, 1837. Appendix, Part I. Cf. F. Jagor, TRAVELS IN THE PHILIPPINES. London, 1875. P. de la Gironiere, TWENTY YEARS IN THE PHILIPPINES, New York, 1854., E. S. Craighill Handy, "Indian Cultural Influences in Oceania," MAN IN INDIA, 8, p. 1-5.

[7] It was the name given to the Islanders who first were in contact with Magellan and his men in 1521, in the thought that they were the Indians inhabiting the land they were in search of. Later on, the name was used as a derogatory appellation to all the peoples of the Islands. Similarly, when Columbus landed on the New World, he called the inhabitants of this world, Indians, who were mistaken to be the Indians of the land they were in search of.

[8] Spanish *padre,* "Father" > "priest".

[9] Spanish *infelices,* lit. "infidels, unbelievers". This term was applied to all peoples unconverted by the Spaniards to Christianity.

[10] The provinces of Ilokos Sur and Ilokos Norte.

Morice Vanoverbergh [14] writes in "testimony" of the use of the *tali*. ". . . At Alagia . . . a Negrito girl of about ten years of age who wore a string around the neck from which dangled an ordinary ring. The Negritos told . . . that this meant that the girl was betrothed. Later on at Masi, I met a Christian Itawes (Malay) girl with the same kind of ornament worn in the same way, and the same explanation was vouchsafed . . ."

One problem arises from this testimony. That of the ring dangling as a pendant. Could it be that the ring symbolized the engagement, or could it be a mere ornament to the real symbol, the string? It may be surmised that the latter is more probable.

Pre-natal betrothal, which seems to have been practised by the Hindus,[15] had been practised by the early Filipinos as testified by a Spanish priest,[16] who wrote an account of the Islands in 1604. "Si Apoi promises to marry Cai Polosin. These married persons make an agreement with another married pair while the wives are with child, that if the wombs of their respective wives should bear a male and a female, these two children should be joined in marriage . . ." Whether or not this was practised by a tribe or tribes or by any of the Christianized or Islamized peoples of the Philippines, the priest did not specify. It is, however, highly probable that this custom was found among the ethnic groups who have had contacts with the outside world.

Dowry, a system in the Indian socio-economic complex, practised from time immemorial, is always given by the bride's family to the bride-groom at the time of the marriage as a capital for the newly formed partnership in life. In the Philippines, it is the reverse of the Indian custom, which may have superseded a tradition similar to the Indian. (This is perhaps comparable to *bride price* practised among the peoples of the mountain regions of the Islands.) Before a marriage is consummated, a dowry is made by the girl's parents in favour of the bride, with the undertaking that it is not transferable to the husband upon the death of the wife, but must revert back to the parents in the event that the union did not produce children.[17]

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[11] C. J. Jayadev. "Ethno-Historic Study of the Tali Rite in South India," Paper read before the ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA, September 8, 1958. (unpublished)

[12] Morice Vanoverbergh, "Negritos of Northern Luzon," ANTHROPOS, xxv, p. 565.

[13] Jayadev, *op. cit.*

[14] *loc. cit.*

[15] Cf. C. J. Jayadev, "Marriage Among the Vellalas." Unpublished Paper, 1958.

[16] P. Chirino, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, xii, p. 294, ff.

This is significant in the fact that the society superseded by the introduction of the Spanish systems may have been matrilineal in its proprietary succession. If it was, then a possible South Indian (Kerala) origin may be assumed, although such systems may have been an independent development from the Indian.

Whether it is an independent development or a vestige of an old tradition of a society influencing another in the course of a long period of contact, it is difficult to say. For, it seems that where the dowry is not given by the bride's parents to the prospective husband at marriage, which is the reverse, whereby, if the prospective groom is poor, he must serve the bride's parents as a "catiped" or servant[18] for more or less an indefinite period according to the whims and caprices of the parents. He has to do the most onerous of all the duties in the household. The bride's parents had to provide him a house, clothes, food, etc.[19]

Among the Ibanags of Cagayan in the Northeastern part of Luzon this is still practised, just as it was the Bulacan province, in Central Luzon.[20] In the province of Laguna, Southern Luzon, it was also practised by the people although the prospective groom is not required to live in the house of his in-laws-to-be.[21]

This custom of serving for a wife was also in vogue in Java, in which when the consent of the relations concerned had been secured, the bridegroom is bound to serve the parents of the bride for a year,[22] a service which is quite reasonable in contrast to that which is followed in the Philippines.

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[17] John A. Metzger, "The Filipino: His Customs and Character," PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, xliv, p. 25, ff.

[18] Metzger, *loc. cit.*

[19] Sinibaldo de Mas, INFORME SOBRE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS EN 1842, p. 85-89, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, xl, fn. 171, p. 219-22.

[20] *ibid.*

[21] *ibid.*

[22] Thomas Stamford Raffles, THE HISTORY OF JAVA (London, 1812), I, p. 325. Cf. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, "Studies in Indonesian Culture," part II, VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSCHE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN, I, 2, p. 9: "...then follows a period of two years during which the couple has to stay with and to work for the girl's parents..."

In the Hindu society, the practice of serving time for a wife[23] seems to be contrary to the age old system in which the daughter is given in marriage by the father only when he can provide for a large dowry to attract suitors of high birth. While this case may be an isolated instance, the custom seems to be quite widespread among the tribes inhabiting the state of Orissa.[24]

In the Hindu society, as in the Philippine and Javanese, the prospective groom voluntarily enters into the service of one who has daughters to marry, while among the tribes of Orissa, the father of the bride-to-be solicits the services of a prospective groom and offers his daughter as compensation after serving for a time.[25]

As late as the middle of the 19th century, Sinibaldo de Mas[26] reported this custom among the peoples of the provinces of Bulacan and Laguna. It may have been practised by them from time immemorial. Since the turn of the present century, a new culture complex has been introduced, hence the custom may have losts its foothold in the people's culture patterns. But among the Ibanags of Cagayan in the Northeast Philippines, the custom is still a necessary step into the institution of marriage. No social or economic barriers are instituted against the suitor.

The marriage ceremony in the Philippines although having been greatly influenced by the Christian ritual manifests a custom that seems an adaptation of a native practice. It is the showering of rice upon the couple, while they are leaving the presence of the priest or minister who performed the ceremony. Among the people of the villages, after the ceremonies are over, the wedding party having arrived, the couple is made to stand on a mat spread for the occassion upon which they danced. While they danced, money, in coins or in notes, is thrown to them by the well-wishers, friends, and relatives alike. The procedure followed in the Indian society seems to be much different. It is of course understandable that the Indians have their own rituals. Abbé Dubois[27] records that "... two bamboos are planted in the centre of the 'pandal' side by side, and at the foot of each of them is placed a bamboo basket. The bride and groom then stand up, each in a blanket and two other basketfull of rice are brought. They take handsfull of this rice and shower each other in turn." The bridal rice is also shared by the newly married pair in Malaya.[28]

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[23] Abbé J. A. Dubois, HINDU MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CEREMONIES (Oxford, 1924), p. 213.

[24] Verrier Elwin, TRIBAL MYTHS OF ORISSA (Bombay, 1954) Chapter XIV: Tale 17 — Parenga, p. 230; Tale 37 — Kumar, p. 239; Tale 114 — Koya, p. 409. Probably, the custom is not Hindu but Munda or Mon-Khmer.

[25] An analogue of this found in the story of the marriage of Jacob in the Christian Scriptures, where Jacob served seven years each for the two daughters of Laban, his mother's brother. Jacob offered himself to serve for the daughters.

The Old Testament custom may be the source of that which was practised in the Philippines, since the people are almost entirely christianized. But their Christianity is late, introduced by a group of Spanish missionaries, who came with the early Colonists. Furthermore, the biblical custom may have died out even before the time of Christ. The probability, therefore, of its being introduced through the medium of Christianity is out of the question.

[26] *loc. cit.*

It may be remarked in passing that most wedding feasts in the villages are celebrated under structures similar to the *pandals*[29] of the Indians and the Malay, whose marriage ritual is full of Brahmanical ceremonies.[30]

The custom of showering rice upon the newly married couple in both the localities is procedurally different. However, the symbol in each is identical. Breaking off the bonds that bind each partner to the parents to start an independent life from a dependent existence, the couple must be started off in a situation fraught with hopes for future prosperity. Hence, rice symbolizing not only its being the material manna that gives the physical puissance, but also from it emanates the soul-force that will make them cling to each other till death do them part, becomes the basic concept in the ceremony. Furthermore, rice being the staple food of both the communities (Indian and Philippine), it may not be taken for granted that its role in the lives of these people can not be over-emphasized. The shower of money upon the couple in the Islands may have the same symbolic significance as the rice.

Desire for Children. It may not be entirely true that the object of marriage is mainly the procreation of children so that the family lines ascending and descending shall be kept unbroken. The desire for offsprings is admittedly universal; in order to obtain them, childless couples perform sacrifices and undergo ritualistic ceremonies. This fertility rite is incongruously practised by the Roman Catholic population of the Islands particularly in Central Luzon, for in Obando, a municipality in the province of Bulacan, there is a shrine of a Catholic saint, whatever may be his or her name, to which countless pilgrims desirous of progeny go to invoke the saint in a series of dance, prayers and offertory and propitiatory rituals under the guidance of the officiating priest. This must have been borrowed from the pre-Christian Roman fertility rites perhaps brought to the Islands by the Spaniards; or a survival of an ancient custom perhaps brought over from India and adopted by the Roman Church. The introduction of the Roman Catholic faith in the Philippines is far too late to regard a pre-Christian source of the ritual. It is even highly doubtful whether the Spaniards themselves had been responsible for its introduction.

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[27] *ibid.*, p. 225.

[28] R. O. Winstedt, MALAYA (London, 1923), p. 102.

[29] Cf. Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 154. For an extensive discussion on the etymology of the word, *vide* the present writer's work referred to in fn. 5, *supra*.

[30] Windstedt, *loc. cit.*

However much doubtful its origin be, this ceremony may be an echo (?) of the fertility rites of the ancient Indians, particularly in connection with the worship of the *siva-linga*. The commonest means for the fulfillment of this desire among the Indians is the *tirthayatra*—the pilgrimage to a sacred place, to some shrine which enjoys the reputation of having the tutelary deity who grants the virtue of progeny to the supplicants (who have not been blessed with children).[31]

Evidences of the desire for and prolificity of progeny are recorded in a number of verses in the Ayyen Songs of Sacrifice of the Lepanto Igorots in Northern Luzon.[32] To quote a few of the verses:

B. Ta enak busaysayan[33]	B. So that I uncover the rice[34]
begas ay kinoldoan	Which makes prolific the
Ta iganak nan nanpangan[35]	One that offered the sacrifice
Ya sumika nan makan.	And increase the rice.
W. Dalusyo idawisam	W. Pray thou
Saponko ay kawitan	Over my contribution, the cook,
Sik-a ay nan pinmangan	You that (pray)[36] over the sacrifice.
x x x x x	x x x x x
B. Yap-apagan Wigan	B. Wigan passes the wine to Bugan
Ay inayan si Bugan	I shall spill some
Ta walsiak bayan man	On the floor of the one
San det an de pimmangan.	That offered the sacrifice.
W. Iganak nan pimmangan	W. Those that offered the
	Sacrifice become prolific
Lalaki ya longayban.	Through it, man and girls.

Rice, wine, chicken, and other objects prescribed by the officiating priest are offered in sacrifice for the fulfilment of the desire.

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[31] Cf. Charles Swynnerton, "Folklore from Peshawar," THE FOLKLORE JOURNAL, I, p. 330.

[32] Morice Vanoverbergh, "Songs of the Lepanto Igorots..." ANTHROPOS, xviii-xix, Group vii, p. 835.

[33] These are dialogue songs. B(ugan) and W(igan) are deities to whom sacrifices are offered. In this song they seem to have assumed anthropomorphic qualities to assist the supplicant in his sacrifice.

[34] Vanoverbergh translation.

[35] ng approximates the Sanskrit n of the guttural series.

[36] The verse seems to be elliptical in Vanoverbergh's translation. The present writer thinks the inserted word clarifies the meaning of the line.

It is well known that king Dasaratha in the *Ramayana*[37] had to perform the *asvamedha* (horse sacrifice) in order that sons may be born of him through his wives—sons who will succeed him on the throne and will perform the necessary oblations after his death. In the *Kathasaritsagara,*[38] a story is told of a king who was sorrowful that he had only one son in spite of his having one hundred and five wives in his harem. So that in order to obtain sons as many as his wives he was told to sacrifice the son *(purusamedha,* "human sacrifice") upon the fire. "By smelling the smell of that sacrifice all the wives will obtain sons."

Having progeny is also a means of salvation from hell. In the *Mahabharata,*[39] Jaratkaru, of rigid vows and asceticism, father of Astika was entreated to get married by his ancestors who had emaciated themselves for want of offsprings to deliver them from *naraka* (hell). He sets his mind on obtaining a wife but upon a vow that his wife shall be obtained through alms. Vasuka of the serpent race offered his sister as alms to Jaratkaru," . . . and he delivered his fathers . . . by begetting offsprings . . ." However, in the *Soso* (or Mourning) Songs of the Lepanto Igorots,[40] it is not the fathers who importune the sons to obtain progeny, but the spirit of the father is invoked to protect the children so that they may live to perform the necessary propitiatory sacrifices and prayer offerings for his blissful sojourn in heaven. What is heaven without bliss? Therefore, the object of all this is the final deliverance of the *pitaras* (ancestors) from hell! *Soso* No. 6 gives a lucid picture of the invocation to the father's spirit.

liwidam pay san anakmo	guard your children[41]
bayaw ta tumingadu	so that they may live
inayan sin anakmo	your children,
ta daida di matagu	So that they may live[42]
tawada di mamaypayko	So that somebody may be invoking you.

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[37] Bālakanda, I, 9-12. Horse sacrifice is undertaken also for the purpose of *dig-vijaya,* "world conquest" (Vajasaneyi Samhita, xxii-xxv). Likewise it is undertaken as means of sin-cleansing (MAHABHARATA, XIV — Asvamedhikaparvan): cited by M. Winternitz, in HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE, I, p. 173, 372.

[38] Charles Tawney, KATHASARITSAGARA (The Ocean of Story), I (bk. ii, chap. xiii), p. 153-154. For child murder to obtain children, *vide* also W. Crooke, FOLKLORE OF NORTHERN INDIA, II, p. 172-173, and R. C. Temple, "Ritual Murder as a Means of Producing Children," INDIAN ANTIQUARY, III, p. 113.

[39] MAHABHARATA, I: Adiparvan xiii-xv: Astika Parva.

[40] Vanoverbergh, in ANTHROPOS, xxxiii, p. 584-611.

[41] Vanoverbergh translation, p. 590.

[42] Vanoverbergh translates the verse: *Ta daida di matagu.* "so that they be living." The above is preferred.

An interesting verse in the *Soso* No. 26 of the same collection of oral traditions[43] gives a very cogent illustration of the child-giving powers of a cereal:

et datngana san panuyapey,	And he gets at the panuyapey panicles (oats)
alana et yeyna ed baeyda,	He takes them and brings them to his house
inwalasna san anakna,	He distributes them to his children
et daida di sumango, ya daida di matagu,	And they live long, and they are alive,
Ta mensanakda,	So that they become prolific,
Ta wadu di mangibagbaga	So there be people to invoke you.

While the Lepanto Igorots are rice eaters, just like any of the other mountaineers and the inhabitants of the lowlands, and the *panuyapey* may well be one of their staple food, there can hardly be any doubt that the ears of the latter may contain or possess the symbolic power of childgiving as it is used in the ritual.

Thus, the child-giving powers of the ears of *panuyapey* (oats) on being partaken of in ritual bear an undisguised resemblance with the child-giving mango,[44] the child-giving drinks,[45] and the child-giving mixture of rice, milk, sugar, and spices[46] in Indian folk literatures.

The spirits of the two quarters of the world are believed by the Ifugaos to be the sources of children[47] just as the Indians believe in and invoke the *desapalas* (lords of the land) for the same gifts of progeny.[48] Hence, the Ifugaos invoke these spirits in their ceremonies so that children may be born to them.

To conclude this section, the desire for children and the means of obtaining them are found not only in the literature of both countries—both in oral and written—but also in their actual traditions. The analogies, between the two traditions however, may be independent developments. Or the Indian may have been the underlying source of the Philippine tribal belief.

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[43] *ibid.*, xxxiii, p. 602. Cf. *Soso* No. 34, p. 608; *Maganakkamis' Sayandan. Ta madapankas' unman.* "Let us get many children, So that you be honoured afterwards..."

[44] Mary Freer, OLD DECCAN DAYS (London, 1858), p. 254.

[45] L. B. Day, FOLKTALES OF BENGAL (London, 1883), p. 187. *Vide* also Knowles, FOLKTALES OF KASHMIR, p. 131, 416.

[46] Tawney, *ibid.* (bk. ii, chap. ix), p. 95.

[47] Amador T. Daguio, HUD-HUD NI ALIGUYON: AN IFUGAO EPIC POEM. (M. A. Thesis, Stanford University, 1948) Line 1083: *Aninitud lagud, aninitud daaya... taguman de uunga,* "spirits of the west...the spirits of the east...the source of children..."

[48] Cf. accounts in the MAHABHARATA.

Birth Customs. In the Philippines, there seems to be no prenatal taboos imposed upon the enceinte, analogues of which may be found in the Indian continent.

On the natal day, among the Koragars of the western coast of India, the hut where the lying-in woman is lodged is deserted by the other inmates for a period of five days. The significance of this practice lies perhaps in the fact that childbirth carries with it the impurity, like that in the menstrual cycle.* This delivery in seclusion has its parallels among the Bisayan islanders in the central Philippines who not only desert the house or hut, but also remove the fishing nets and fighting cocks from it, lest bad luck attend their fishing activities, and the betting in the cockfights.[49] *Mantras* are recited; offerings, prayers and recitations of charms are made to the *diwatas* or spirits (Sans. *devatas*) in order to obtain easy delivery,[50] the practice of which is common among the Indians. But should the delivery be delayed, it is believed that, in spite of the precautions taken, the powers of evil are in the ascendant. To avert such evil, the lying-in woman is advised to call on the name of the household god.[51] The same prevails among the peoples in the Philippines unaffected by the teachings of the Christian religion. Moreover, even among the nominally practicing Christians they, in some or many cases, still follow primitive means in child-birth.

The after-birth practice still prevalent among the village folks of the Islands which is similar to that which is described as practiced by Indians in the **Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,** Vol. 11, p. 652-a is worth summarizing here: As soon as the child is born, it is placed in a grain sifting tray, in which has been put cow-dung, ashes, turmeric, and a few coins, and is sprinkled with water. The placenta is then put into a hole which has been dug in the corner of the room. While the placenta is being disposed off, the head of the lying-in woman is bound up, and she is fumigated with the smoke of burning seed of *carumcopticum,* which has been thrown into a brazier. This is placed under the cot, and is kept there, however hot the season of the year, for ten days. The doors and the windows of the room are kept shut, and the light is given by an oil-dip lamp, which is kept burning day and night. The woman may drink only a decoction of ginger, cloves, in which has been boiled some copper coins. Seeds of *carumcopticum* and *Helicteris isora* also are added to this decoction.

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* The Indian (Hindu) woman during her menstrual period must live in seclusion from the other members of her family; she must not enter the kitchen, or touch any of the utensils or the materials used in preparing the foods for she is in the state of impurity.

[49] ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, II, p. 636-b.

[50] *ibid.,* p. 638-a.

[51] *ibid.,* p. 651-b.

In the Philippines, with the exception of the cow-dung and the ashes put on the inverted winnow (instead of a tray as in India) more money is placed in it as a sign of future prosperity. Another exception is the burying of the placenta in a hole in a corner of the room. Since most of the early Filipinos were living in houses raised above the ground by means of piles (like most Filipino today), the placenta is generally placed in a pot and buried under the house. All other details described in the **Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics** are identical with those which are practiced in the Islands: the fumigation with some other kind of incense, drinking of hot water with ingredients similar to those used among the Indians, etc. The first bath of the child administered after cutting the umbilical cord that joins it with the after-birth is an oil-bath, which may be reminiscent of the Indian habit of oil-bathing.[52]

Connected with the after-birth practice is the ritual of name-giving: in the Philippines, the inverted rice winnow is raised and dropped three times — first, the name is asked; second, the name is pronounced; and third, the child is advised to be obedient and industrious. This third fall renders the name-giving ceremony complete.[53]

There is an interesting custom among the Indians, which, if borrowed by the early Filipinos, particularly the Negritos, is practised in conjunction with a Roman Christian custom. Among the Negritos, the mouth of the new-born child is filled with salt, after this the women hasten with it to the nearest river or brook in which it is bathed.[54] The use of the salt occurs in the customs of the Roman Christians, and it is part of the baptismal ceremony of the Church. The washing of the child in the river or brook may be a lost "relic" of the Indian custom of ceremonially washing the child or dipping him in the sacred waters of the Ganga or some other sacred rivers.[55] The significance of the Indian custom (which is ceremonial in nature) may not have been caught or comprehended by the Negritos.

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[52] Cf. Diego de Bobadilla, RELACION DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, xxix, p. 288: "As soon as the child has issued from its mother's womb, it is placed in the water, and taking it from the bath its head is rubbed with ajonjoli (sasame) oil mixed with civet." Also, Chirino, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[53] Fay Cooper Cole, "The Tingian," PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, iii, 4, p. 207. No Indian parallel can be cited in as much as the Laws of Manu have to be followed in all the important ceremonies connected with childhood. It is cited for purposes of contrast with the Indian custom.

[54] ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, II, p. 370-a.

[55] MANU, II, 29, 30.

Analogies in the concept underlying the disposal of the placenta are also traceable, although its disposal is entirely different in both the countries. Among the Malas, a low caste in the Telugu region, the placenta in a pot with leaves is buried in a convenient place, generally in a back yard, lest dogs and other animals should carry it off; for if it were to happen they fancy that the child would be of a wandering disposition.[56] Corresponding to this, the fisherfolk of the Philippines believe that if the placenta is placed in a pot and thrown into the sea or river or any body of water the child will develop into an expert swimmer and fisherman. Similarly, a general belief is widespread that if again the relic of the after-birth is put in a pot and is hanged to a lofty tree, particularly the tall coconut, the child will become an expert tree-climber. Burying the placenta nearest the house or better under it is, however, almost significant in the belief that the child will not be of the roving type. In some cases, it is buried in a quarter under the house facing the east, which may have the meaning that he who is born will in the future be as the sun—bright and fresh, mild and tender in the morning. It may probably have had another significance to the people, as it had to the Indians, who have the sun as one of their major deities in the pantheon of gods. The ideal of the power all-encompassing attributed to the sun in India is of great significance to the entire cycle of life, likewise though lost, if it had been an influencing concept, may have prevailed among the Filipinos in connection with the disposal of the relic of birth. The placenta being an "alter-ego" of the child while still in the protective confines of his mother's womb must be taken care of after its separation from its "other-self" lest it will cause great grief to the latter.

Other beliefs connected to the relationships between the child and the after-birth are perhaps explained concisely in the Tinggian traditions:[57] "the after-birth is put in a jar . . . A book or letter inserted in the jar will cause the child to be very wise; while a few leaves of bamboo make the child grow like that lusty plant. If the after-birth is hung in a tree near the trail, the infant will not be afraid; if hung in the jungle, he may fear man, but will become an excellent hunter. Often the river is chosen or the jar is buried: the former will result in an excellent swimmer and fisherman; but it is ill-fortune for the baby if the pot is put in the ground, for he will be afraid to climb a tree or to ascend a mountain."

In connection with the "alter-ego: other self" concept germane to the child-placenta relationship commented on above, the Indonesians have a very interesting idea of it, that is "that the soul-substance is found in the placenta (and the umbilical cord)[58] appears from the connection which they see between the child and the after-birth"; the latter being called the older or younger brother. The placenta is, therefore, carefully preserved or buried.[59] But compare the Sumatran beliefs that the navel string and the after-birth are good spirits, a sort of guardian angels of the men who came into the world with them and who live on earth; they are said to guard him from all evil.[60]

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[56] J. G. Frazer, THE GOLDEN BOUGH, I, p. 194.

[57] Cole, *loc. cit.*

It is also worth noting the use of the pot in the disposal of the placenta. While the relic of the after-birth may merely be disposed off without being contained in a vessel, the use of the earthen pot as it is found in both Indian and the Philippines may have had a significance that is already lost. May it be surmissed here that the earthen pot may be a survival of the ancient practice of disposing off the dead in earthen pots, jars or urns?

Among the Indians, there is a general practice to tie the placenta of milk-yielding animals bound up in a straw to the trunk of milk-yielding trees, in the belief that it would give more milk. We are unable to find a parallel in the Philippines of this Indian practice and belief, probably because the Filipinos leave the placenta to be eaten by the same animal that has given birth in the belief that it shall again be able to give life to another offspring. May it be, however, that when the animal at a time when it will no more desire to give birth to a new life that its placenta is collected, bound up, and tied to a tree which yields milk?

Precautions Observed in the Birth Chamber. Although the various elements employed in the precautionary act in the chamber or room seem to be different, and the manner in which they are employed divergent, still the underlying concepts are similar. However, where an independent development of the practices and belief in the various localities to be referred to may not be entirely ruled out, it is also possible that they may have travelled from India, whose culture is admittedly older, eastward to the transgangetic India, down to the Malayan archipelago, and thence to the Philippines.

In India, the iron and lighted lamps figure as objects used in the precautions observed in the birth chamber (in actual tradition as well as in the literature of the people). In the *brahmana* birth chamber, the scissors, which had been used to cut the umbilical cord, are put under the pillow on which the lying-in woman's head rests, and the iron rod, with which the floor has been dug up for the disposal of the after-birth, is left on the ground at the foot of the bed. Furthermore, the mid-wife, before leaving, secretly introduces a needle into the mattress of the bed in the belief that the mother will be saved from after-birth pains.[61]

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[58] Brackets supplied.

[59] ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, VII, p. 233-ab.

[60] *ibid.*, XII, p. 489-a.

Among the Majhwars in the hill country of South Mirzapur, an iron implement such as a sickle or a betel cutter is constantly kept near an infant's head during the first year of its life in order to ward off the attacks of ghosts.[62] Among the Malabars of Southern India, a knife or other iron objects lie beside a woman after childbirth to keep off devil.[63] When a Mala mother is in the throes of child-birth a sickle and some neem leaves (Melia Azadirachta) are kept on the cot.[64] In Malabar, pregnant women on journey carry with them among other things an iron in any shape to scare away evil spirits lurking in groves or burial grounds which they may pass through.[65]

In Burma, when a child is still-born an iron, probably in any form, is placed beside the corpse with the invocation: "Never more return to the mother's womb till this metal becomes as soft as down."[66] Also among the Kachins of upper Burma, when a child is born knives are brandished over the mother to scare away demons that may cause evil upon her.[67]

In Annam (Ancient Champā), parents sometimes sell their child to a smith, who puts an iron anklet on the child's foot, usually adding a small iron chain. After the child has grown up and all danger from attack of malignant spirits is assumed to be over, the anklet is broken.[68] Among the Malays, one of the necessary articles included in the defense of the infant against its natural and spiritual enemies is a piece of iron.[69] Furthermore, the mother of the newly born child is also protected from evil by placing iron or steel on her bed.[70]

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[61] S. Stevenson, RITES OF THE TWICE BORN.

[62] William Crooke, TRIBES AND CASTES OF NORTHWEST PROVINCES AND OUDH, III, p. 431.

[63] F. Jagor, "Bericht uber Verschiedne Vokstamme Vorderindien," ZEITSCHRIFT FUR ETHNOLOGIE, XXVI, 1894, p. 70; Frazer, III, p. 234-235.

[64] Edgar Thurston, ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES IN SOUTHERN INDIA, p. 341. CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA, IV, p. 369.

[65] Thurston, ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES IN SOUTHERN INDIA, p. 341. On the Panjab, *vide* H. A. Rose, in JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, XXXV, p. 271-282.

[66] Shway Yoe (Sir George Scott), THE BURMAN, I, p. 3.

[67] UPPER BURMA GAZETTER, I, p. 399.

[68] Tawney, II, p. 166-167. A terminal essay on the "Precautions in the Birth Chamber."

[69] R. J. Wilkinson, PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS, Part I, p. 1.

In the Philippines, the use of iron in any form but more specifically the cutting knife or any instrument with a long blade to scare away the evil spirits, is widespread. The cutting knife is flourished violently at the time of the labour by the husband stripped naked standing on guard either inside the house or on the roof until the child is born.[71] In some cases, other men are also employed and they take their stand on the strategic sections of the house — one under, another outside, etc., and continually fence with the wind like the husband while the parturition lasts.[72] This is done to protect both the child and the mother [73] at the time of their helplessness.

It is interesting to note that among the Ilokos of Eastern Pangasinan who have settled there for generations, iron in the form of a large knife, called *buneng;* is not only used in the birth chamber as a means to avert evil falling both the child and mother, but also for as long as the child is helpless. Thus, while the mother goes about her household chores, the knife is placed either by the side of the child or at its head as guard against the mal-intentions of unseen spirits. Likewise, when a man is out alone in the fields or in the forests, he always has his trusted *buneng* at his side, and while he takes a short rest from his lonely task, he either sticks the implement on the ground near his head or puts it over his body.

Assuming that the Philippine Islands had a much later Iron Age culture [74] than India and probably even Burma, Malaya and Champā, it is possible that the Iron Age culture of the Islands was not indigenous, but was brought by migrants carrying the metal. These carriers may have already developed the concept associated with iron in relation to the precautions observed in the birth-chamber. If it was, then the surmise that these migrants who come to the Islands might have had a much more advanced culture pattern may safely be accepted. It may be conjectured furthermore that this culture may have had its origins in the land farther west, probably

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[70] Winstedt, *loc. cit.*

[71] Juan Francisco de San Antonio, CRONICAS, I, par. 449, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XL, p. 341, ff.

[72] *ibid.*

[73] Cf. Tomas Ortiz, PRACTICAL DEL MINISTERIO, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XLIII, p. 107. Cf., furthermore, Metzger, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[74] Early Iron Age culture of the Islands derived from Java and Sumatra is dated c. 300-200 B. C. (Beyer and de Veyra, THE PHILIPPINE SAGA, Chapter III). It is perhaps safe to posit here that the Iron Age of Burma, Malay, and Champa is contemporaneous with Java and Sumatra.

India, from whom many of the ascertainable customs and manners of the peoples of Malaysia had been derived.[75]

Concerning the use of light in the birth chamber as a means of averting evil which may befall the mother or the new-born child, because malignant spirits can perform their incantations effectively in the dark,[76] a short remark to conclude this section is necessary. Light, particularly in the birth chamber where all the windows and doors are closed, has the power which renders the ascendancy of evil spirits futile.[77] There must have been a similar significance of light in the birth-chamber in the Philippines, since the room is arranged in practically the same manner as it is done in India. Probably, in the course of time this may have been lost among a greater number of the people, although survivals of which may still be found in the remote villages less affected by the *inroads* of Christianity.

Death and Disposal of the Dead. When death visits the living, it is received with severe grief that denial of the self is made manifest in various ways. The earliest recorded notice of the severest manner of mourning or grief is found in the Chinese record, the *Tao-i-chich-lio,*[78] which relates that in Ma-i (Philippines?) when a woman mourns her husband's demise she shaves her head and fasts for seven days, lying beside her dead spouse. This record relates, furthermore, that there are some even who, to make manifest their wifely devotion, when the body of their husband has been consumed, get into the funeral pyre and die. In most cases, however, those who do not die in the pyre may not remarry during their whole lives. This, evidently, is an Indian way of disposing the dead, in which the *sati* is sacrificed, or if she is not, remains mourning throughout her life.

But, the custom could not have been introduced in the Islands earlier than the *Sung Shih, A.D.* 971, otherwise it would have been noticed in this chronicle,[79] which described the Islands quite extensively. If it had, it would have been lost from among the customs and manners of the people even before Chao Ju-kua's time as it has no reference to it in his work the *Chu-fan-chi.*[80] It is, therefore, evident that the custom must have been introduced later than the date of Chao Ju-kua which is 1225 A.D. Notice of this custom is also made of ancient Champā in as late as the XIVth Century A.D. by Frere Odoric de Prodenone,[81] who wrote that "when a man dies in this country, the wife is burnt along with him because they say that it is right and proper that the wife should live with the husband in the other world." Those who did not die along with their husbands mostly lived like Hindu widows the rest of their lives.[82] Like the Indian, the Isnegs of Northern Luzon discard all personal ornaments on the death of a loved one. He is not allowed to wear nice clothes or native jewelry for a certain period of time after the death of a kinsman. He must also fast.[83]

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[75] *Vide* and Cf. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, in JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH-MADRAS, X, p. 192-193.

[76] Cf. Tawney, I (bk. i, chap. vii), p. 76.

[77] Cf. the Parsi belief that where a mother and a new-born child are lying, fire and light must never be allowed to go out, . . . for the evil powers of fate and fear are nothing so much as fire and light (ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, VII, p. 638-b).

[78] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relation and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the 14th Century A. D.," Part II, T'UNG PAO, XVI, 1915. p. 268.

[79] F. Hirth, "Chao Ju-kua: A New Source of Medieval Geography," JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1896, p. 68-69.

The introduction of the custom in the Philippines may either be through the Cham society whose maritime activities in the past are well known [84] and may have brought with them this custom in their wanderings; or through the Javanese and Malayan societies whose basic cultures are comparatively Indian in character.

It is a custom among the Hindus that the following day after the cremation, the un-burnt bones are collected, cleaned, and consecrated after which libations of water are offered to these relics of the dead.[85] Where cremation may, for the centuries of its being practiced in the Islands, have lost its hold in the traditions of the people, the Ifugaos, a Causasic tribe in the Northern Luzon, on the occasion of their *binugwa* ceremonies, dig out the bones of the dead relatives from the grave, clean, and offer sacrifices of rice and oblations to them, after having been blessed by the officiating priest.[86]

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[80] F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, CHAO JU KUA: HIS WORK ON THE CHINESE AND ARAB TRADE IN THE 12th AND 13th CENTURIES ENTITLED CHU FAN CHI. (Translated and Annotated). St. Petersburg, 1912. Chapter XL-XLI.

[81] Henri Gordier, LES VOYAGES EN ASIE AU XIVe SIECLE DU BIENHEUREUX FRERE ODORIC DE PORDENONE, RELIGIEUX DE SAINT FRANCOIS AVEC UNE INTRODUCTION ET DES NOTES, cited by Georges Maspero, in "Le Royaume de Champa," T'UNG PAO, XII, p. 600, ff.

[82] BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT, XIV, 9, p. 14.

[83] Vanoverbergh, in ANTHROPOS, XXV, p. 542.

[84] *Vide* H. O. Beyer, J. C. de Veyra, THE PHILIPPINE SAGA (Manila, 1952), p. 15-16.

[85] This practice is also found in literature, e.g. MARABHARATA, I, *Adiparva,* section CLII — Jatugrhaparva: Believing that the Pandavas with their mother, Kunti, had been burned to death in the house of laccin materials built by order of Duryoddhana, Dhrtarastra orders: "Let also the bones of the deceased be sanctified with the usual rites, and let all the beneficial and great acts (usual on such occasions) be performed. . . ."

[86] Daguio, *op. cit.,* Introduction. Also Fletcher Gardner and Ildefonso Maliwanag, INDIC WRITINGS IN THE MINDORO-PALAWAN AXIS (San Antonio, Texas, 1939-1943), II, p. 15: The dead is buried in the earth for a year. Then a great feast is held and the bones are honoured with much ceremony. Cf. the prophecy about the end of the Krta Yuga (MAHABHARATA, III, Vanaparva, section clxxxix — Markandeya Sa-

Perhaps before cremation became widespread among the Indian Aryans, the dead was buried, traces of which are found in the *Rgveda*,[87] and even appears that wives, attendants and horses were buried alive with the man to keep him company during his journey to the other world.[88] Survivals of this manner of disposal of the dead with his company of wives, attendants, etc., have been found among the pre-hispanic inhabitants of the islands, particularly among the royal families,[89] with the same concept as the Indo-Aryans had.

Some Indian tribes and castes south of the Vindhyas, like the Devānga, Kāmabattu weavers, Kāmamalans, Vellalas, Parayans, and Okkihiyans of Coimbatore; the Pisharotis of Travancore; the Yeruvas of the Coorg; the Irulas of the Nilgiris, and the Khadirs bury their dead in the sitting position.[90] In Northern India,[91] the Oswals place the dead body on a canopied chair; the Banwars, in a reclining position called padmāsana, a *yoga* posture. As would be expected, a dead Sannyāsin should be cremated like any other Hindu, but he is invariably buried, no matter what his rank or sect may be, in the padmāsana position.[92]

This practice of burying the dead in the sitting or reclining position is also very popular among the Ifugaos and other tribes in Northern Philippines.[93] The dead is propped against the wall of the grave with saplings; arms and hands are drawn and crossed over the chest, and the legs brought over the crossed arms. In cases where the dead man is the chief, or a distinguished person of the tribe, or a leading warrior, he is brought to the village burial cave where he is deposited in the same position, but smoked to preserve it for all time.[94] It is later taken out on various ceremonies to be blessed and worshipped side by side with the practice of digging up the bones, with the same object as it has been noticed above.

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masya Parva): "And renouncing the gods, men will worship bones and other reics deposited in the walls..."

[87] RGVEDA, X, 18, 10-13, cited in Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 95-96. Mr. Winternitz remarks that "the custom of burying the bones I consider to be a remnant of an older custom of the burial of the corpses..."

[88] P. Thomas EPICS, MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF INDIA (Bombay, nd), p. 62.

[89] Cf. BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, II, p. 139: "When any chief dies they slay some of their slaves, a greater or less number according to his quality, his wealth..."; III, p. 199: "so that they may serve their master in the other world..."; Also V, p. 135. Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

[90] Panchanan Mitra, "Cultural Affinities between India and Polynesia," MAN IN INDIA, XI, p. 227.

[91] *ibid.*

[92] Dubois, op. cit., p. 538-539. Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 96, fn. 3: At the time when cremation was already a general custom, children and ascetics were still buried."

[93] Cf. Ivor H. N. Evans, STUDIES IN RELIGION, FOLKLORE AND CUSTOM IN BRITISH NORTH BORNEO AND THE MALAY PENINSULA (Cambridge, 1923), p. 224-230: The Sakais of the Malay Peninsula bury their dead in the sitting position.

[94] Cf. Chirino, *op. cit.*, p. 302: "...anointed the body with aromatic balsams which prevent corruption..." Also, BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XIV, fn. 15, p. 303.

Urn and dolmen types of burial were also common among the people of Central Luzon and of South India.[95] Whether the artifacts of strong affinities that were found (in both places) among these relics of the dead give proofs of influence of the latter upon the former, it is quite difficult to ascertain.

Connected with death and mourning in the Philippines are various customs which have parallels in India. At the death of a relative all human activities cease [96] till after the third day when the ceremonial bath in the river is consummated in the case of distant relatives, and after the other rituals till the tenth day ceremonies in the case of the immediate survivors of the deceased. In India every person who assisted in the funeral is ceremonially defiled, and thus after the ceremonies are over, the participants immediately hasten to plunge themselves into the water for a cleansing bath, and no one would dare return home without having thus bathed.[97]

Like the Hindu widow, the Filipino widow (noticed in the *Tao-i-chih-lio)* shaves her head as a sign of mourning. She keeps it shaven throughout her lifetime. It is not however mentioned in this Chinese record that the *immediate survivors of the dead* also have to undergo the disfigurement as the wife has to undergo, *which was or is prevalent among the Indian widows.*

The oblation of rice to the relics of the dead both in India and in the Philippines is worth commenting on here. In the Indian as well as in the Philippine custom, rice is showered on the newly-married couple at the wedding ceremony, and again it is offered during the ceremonies performed for the asquisition of progeny. Is the offering of rice to the bones of the dead done for the purpose of acquiring certain powers has been practised? Or is it merely a means of honouring the memory of the departed? Apparently, it is the latter that is practised among the Ifugaos; it may also be the latter in the case of the Indians.

There is, however, an interesting parallel between another Indian and Filipino custom. The Brāhmana in his daily avocations remembers his *pitaras* (ancestors).[98] He eats in silence, but he does not begin until he has carefully put aside for his departed ancestors a small portion of rice and other dishes prepared for him. Among the Ilokos in the North-western Luzon, rice and other kinds of food are set aside for the departed ancestor to partake of during meal-time. It is performed particularly during the *palagip* (lit., "remembering") ceremonies in honour of the dead. It is also customary among this group of people that rice and other types of food are offered to the dead within a number of days immediately after death and burial; then the offering ceases. Offertory is resumed only during the "remembering" ceremonies, which is generally periodic.

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[95] Beyer, in PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, LXXVII, 3-4, p. 349-350. Cf. K. R. Srinivasan, "The Megalithic Burials and Urn-fields in South India in the Light of Tamil Literature and Traditions," ANCIENT INDIA, 2, p. 9-16: Urn burials existed from as early as the Sangam Age of Dravidian culture (3rd Century B. C. — 3rd Century A. D.). Graveyards were found in the outskirts of the towns.

[96] Dubois, op. cit., p. 179.

[97] *ibid.* Cf. Evans, *op. cit.,* p. 33: After a funeral (among the Pisau Dusuns, North Borneo), the mourners all go the river to bathe in order to purify themselves.

[98] *ibid.,* p. 245-246.

It is undoubtedly admitted that in India assisting in funerals renders one ceremonially polluted, and that the pollution can only be removed by the ceremonial bath and sprinkling of holy water. Any person defiled in this manner does not go home without having thus purified himself in bath. Again among the Ilokos, three days after the internment of the remains, the survivors of the deceased whether they assisted in the funeral or not, and other relatives have to participate in the bathing ritual performed in the nearest river. They call this ceremony *gul-gol* (lit., "to shampoo or wash the hair"). This is done by sifting the water poured upon burnt rice straw, which liquid is poured over the heads of the immediate survivors, followed by the other relatives as well as the others who had joined the party. The final step in this quasi-ritual ceremony is the plunging into the water. Then, they retrace their steps back to the home of the bereaved.

Does this *gul-gol* have any purificatory significance? If it did have, its meaning and symbolism may have been lost through the centuries of usage, and superimpositions of other cultures, like the Christian, which is practiced side by side with the "seemingly" indigenous customs and traditions.

The beliefs that the dead person needs company and must have all his weapons, utensils, etc., in the life beyond does not seem to have been widely practised by the people of early Philippines, for apparently a belief in bliss in heaven exists side by side with the former. Heaven *(svarga)* was the rightful place for those who perished by the sword in battle, their souls ascended immediately in the presence of the heavenly gods and enjoy thereby the fruits of such merit.[99] Furthermore, only those who had moral virtues and who had lived without harming any one in his life on earth went thither to that place as reward, which they call *kalángitan* (heaven).[100] They also believed in a place of punishment, pain or sorrow, which they called *casamaan* (k°).[101] Their belief in transmigration of souls does not, however, coincide with the concept underlying that of the Hindu or that of the Buddhist, for the metempsychosis of "souls of their deceased to other living bodies was sign of rest to them";[102] while in the Indian, a person is born again to undergo the process of purification or if he has accumulated merits during his lifetime he goes to the abode of Indra and resides there for as long as his merits last, after which he is reborn into the world.

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[99] Colin, *op. cit.*, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XL, p. 72.

[100] de San Antonio, *op. cit.*, IN BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XL, p. 340.

[101] *ibid.*

This doctrine of metempsychosis may have had its origins from India, but which was brought to the Islands by settlers or traders. Its significance, however, may not have been fully understood by the recipients of this belief. It is apparent that it had been quite complicated in all its aspects, for evidently only a moiety of the entire concept has been comprehended.

Spirits and Ghosts. In connection with the belief in ghosts, the early Filipinos had a common practice to strew ashes on the ground in order to detect by the footprints the visits of ghosts and/or demons.[103] Among the Isinais in the Northern Luzon, ashes are put on the stairs in order to detect if the spirit of the dead has visited them immediately after death.[104] This practice is common among the Javanese, Malays, and Chams. If this custom found in the Philippines, Java, Malaya, and ancient Champa were not independent developments, its probably origin may be the Indian sub-continent. Among the funeral customs of the Hos in North-East India, ashes are spread on the ground in order to detect the return of the dead man's spirit.[105] This is also common in Mirzapur,[106] whose jungle tribes spread ashes on the floor and a mark generally like that of a chicken foot shows that the family ghosts have visited the house. Moreover, if any other animal footmark appears on the ashes, it is believed that the ghost had migrated into the animal whose mark appears on the ashes.

Another belief connected to the coming of the dead man's spirit is that it is believed to be wandering in the fields he once tilled, to stand on the banks of the streams or rivers in which he used to fish, and to come in and out of his dwelling place. This is as widespread among the people of the Philippines as it is among the Santals of India.[107]

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[102] *ibid.* But, Cf. Casimiro Diaz, "The Augustinians in the Philippines," CONQUISTAS, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XLII, p. 254. He adduces the belief in the transmigration of souls to the teachings of Chinese merchants, who were banished to the mountains by the Spanish missionaries.

[103] ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, II, p. 114-ab.

[104] Ricardo E. Galang, "Ethnographic Notes on the Isinais of Nueva Viscaya," PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, LVIII, 4, p. 507.

[105] ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, II, pp. 114-b.

[106] W. Crooke, THE POPULAR RELIGION AND FOLKLORE OF NORTH INDIA, I (West-Minster, 1896), p. 72-74.

Sacrifice. The practice of human sacrifice in India [108] had its parallel development if not an influence in the Philippines. In India numerous legends relate that on the construction of an important work such as a palace, a bridge, an embankment, or a city wall, the building repeatedly fell, until a living human being was buried in the foundation, or that such a victim must be obtained to render a fortress impregnable. Generally, the victim is the master-builder's wife, but in the most piteous of all, an innocent child is walled up, often it is a beggar boy or a virgin, or a student. One legend tells that bridges built over rivers will not stand unless human blood is shed, as an offering to appease the demons living therein.[109]

In literature, references to human sacrifice are widespread and go back to remote antiquity. In the *Ramayana,*[110] the story of the son of Rcika, named Sunahsepa, who was sold by his father for a hundred thousand cows to Ambarisa, king of Ayodhya for sacrifice is related. An earlier version of the story is told in the *Aitareya Brahmanas.*[111] In the *Bhagavata Purana,*[112] we hear of Jadabharata being carried away to a temple of Kali to be sacrificed. Bhavabhuti, in his *Malatimadhava,*[113] presents a picturesque scene in which Aghoraghanta is shown about to sacrifice Mālatī to Cāmundī, when she is rescued by her lover.

In the 6th through the 8th centuries A.D., the Kāpalikas, the Kālamukhas and the *Pasupatas,* the followers of the Vīra Saivism or the Tantric and Sakta form of worship practiced religious rituals comprising the offering of wine and blood to Bhairāva and Kali. Traces of human sacrifice are also found in South India from as early as the Pallava times from the seventh century onwards.[114]

We are not aware of any traces of human sacrifice in connection with building construction in the Philippines. However, there has been a practice among the Filipinos that when they build their houses, the first act done before sliding the posts into the excavations was to pour (native) wine, and to throw silver coins in each hole. There must have been an earlier custom of sacrificing a human being to render the house firm as well as auspicious. But such a sacrificial victim may have found a good substitute in the use of wine and coins.[115] Among the Batan Islanders to the north of Luzon, the shedding of blood of a living being, such as a domestic animal, so that its blood may insure the safety of say a new house or bridge is also practiced.[116] Likewise, this animal's blood may be a substitute for human blood, if in earlier times there had been a custom of offering human blood for such purposes.

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[107] ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, I, p. 426-ab.

[108] ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, VI, p. 114-a.

[109] *ibid.,* p. 852-b.

[110] Balakanda, LXI-LXII (Sunahsepavikrayah, and Ambarisayajña).

[111] VII, 13-18, in Max Muller, HISTORY OF ANCIENT SANSRKIT LITERATURE, p. 408, ff. References to *Purusamedha,* vide also C.V. Vaidya, HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE, I, 1, p. 142, 148-151; 2, p. 41-42; and 3, p. 59.

[112] C. Minakshi, ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE PALLAVAS (Madras, 1938), p. 179.

[113] *ibid.*

[114] *ibid.*

Moreover, there is a perfect parallel between the Indian and the Philippine custom. During *pujas,* when sacrifice of blood is necessary to appease the ill-disposed gods or evil spirits, the blood and flesh of the animals that have been slaughtered are offered to them.[117] When someone becomes sick because the spirits have been displeased, and so that the sick will get well, they must be appeased. An animal—in most cases a domestic fowl or hog, its blood and flesh—must be sacrificed. Even in ordinary slaughter for domestic consumption, a drop of blood and nine pieces of meat from nine sections of the carcass are cut and thrown out as an offering to the spirits.[118] This is very common among the Iloko people.

Miners believe that the quality and quantity of gold are dependent upon the sacrifice of (human) blood, particularly children's blood, in the pits. As a boy, stories were told us about men [119] who roamed the countryside searching for children to be caught and brought to the pits for the sacrifice. Oblations of coconut, cooked rice and unsalted boiled chicken are also offered to the river spirits who guard the gold dust on the river beds.

Head-hunting among the northern Philippine tribes [120] as a means of acquiring heads for their regular sacrifices is comparable perhaps to the offering of the head(s) to a deity as in the sacrifice of Rāvana[121] to propitiate the goddess Durgā in order to obtain lordship of the world.[122]

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[115] Cf. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, VI, p. 843-a. Also, Evans, op. cit., p. 277.

[116] Otto Scheerer, "Batan Texts with Notes," PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, XXXI, 3, p. 301.

[117] Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 148.

[118] Cf. James A. Robertson, "The Igorots of Lepanto," PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, IX, 6, p. 465-527.

[119] Called *Kumao* (Iloko), "lit., a fabulous dragon, formerly held responsible for sudden death."

[120] Vanoverbergh, in ANTHROPOS, XXI, p. 583-584. In the *Dinggayus* Songs of the Lepanto Igorots sang during a sacrifice, the exploits of the sacrificer are recited, especially in the head-hunting expeditions. Cf. R. F. Barton, PHILIPPINE PAGANS: AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THREE IFUGAOS. For the Indian, *vide,* Dubois, *op. cit.,* p. 70.

Sacrifices before embarking for the purpose of war were frequent. This is testified in both the literature of the Islands[123] and India even without referring to the performance of such a sacrifice by the historic rulers of India prior to a declaration of war.

Omens. Omens derived from various signs are admittedly universal. Their similarities in the various localities are so striking that suggestions are hazarded as to their common origin or their percolation from one locality to another (from a common source), although in most cases they are perhaps analogous developments.

As to the possible influence of the Indian signs upon the Philippines in regard to the Filipino beliefs in many omens, only three or four instances may be cited to show their striking similarities as well as their interpretations. The belief among the Marathas[124] in particular and among the Indians in general, that on stepping out of the house, if one sees a virgin or a woman coming towards him with a pot full of water, it is considered very auspicious. This sign is believed to be especially auspicious in connection with the pursuance of an important business. Meeting a widow, to an Indian, is very inauspicious, hence people avoid encounter with her. In the Philippines, a pregnant woman met on one's way to transact business spells success. Moreover, if she is carrying a head-load possibility of better success is enhanced. But the bad omen associated with the encounter with a widow does not seem have to a parallel in, or to have percolated to, the Islands.

The bad omen associated to the black cat's crossing one's way is found in both India and the Philippines. Disaster is spelled by an owl's alighting on the window pane. Bird omens, too, are widespread in the Philippines[125] as well as India. These are also found in Java and Borneo.[126]

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[121] In one of the legends (Purānas) of India, it is told that the power of Rāvana was due to the boon given to him by the Goddess after he had sacrified nine of his ten heads, which were later restored to him.

[122] Cf. Asvamedha (horse sacrifice) to obtain *digvijaya* (universal conquest) in Indian literature.

[123] Daguio, *op. cit.*, 11.210, ff.

[124] Y. S. Vanikkar, "Notes on Maratha Folklore," INDIAN ANTIQUARY, XXVII, p. 306-308.

[122] Diego Aduarte, HISTORIA DE LA PROVINCIA DE SANTO ROSARIO, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XXX, p. 287-288. Juan de Placencia, CUSTOMS OF THE TAGALOGS, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, VII, p. 189. Cf. Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 205; Scheerer, *op. cit.*, p. 335: Second Song — The bird *adipasayaws* are the "birds of our Lord."

[126] Raffles, II, p. 65.

In Philippine literature, the bird of augury finds a place of influence in the actions of the heroes and villains. Lines 94, 136, 143 of the *Hud-hud*[127] give a very interesting description of the Idao bird's role in the entire orientation of the hero's actions.

94 Ta ek ibagay pangildonga hi bangun,
Di Idao agapawanda te daanay maptok,
Pangi-appitantaku.
x x x x

136 Hapit na, "Heake pummamikkon, Idao,
Ibudum, ilogaymo hi Aliguyon,
Te manpen hungduwok dalindad Daligdigan,
Ta diket debdid tinanudan Iken;
x x x x

140 Ya pakainghonmih di minahlimi,
Pumabanagon di Payoda babanuda."
Natiniktikan di Idao,
Kaphodan idao dinolyan di payoda,..."
x x x x

94 I will ask which way to lead our force,
The Idao bird, I will consult,
As to (the) way we should go."
x x x x

136 Reaching the forest, (he said), "I am here, Idao,
Sing and give a sign to Aliguyon,
For I am on my way to Daligdigan,
To fight the son of my father's enemy

140 To measure our fighting skill
In the field of battle."
The Idao started to chirp,
The Idao darted from the field...
x x x x

In the preceding lines Aliguyon receives an assurance from the Idao bird that he will succeed. Thus in Line 152: *Diket wada pumahiw hi Idao,* "The Idao crossed their way" which is interpreted as an augury of success. From which side the Idao crossed the way, it is not indicated. Nevertheless, the constant wheeling of the birds on their way was enough to show that success is already theirs.

Birds also influence the characters in the Indian literatures, particularly in the epics. "...vultures and hawks and cranes and kankas, and crows in thousands began continuously to fall upon the (Kaurava) troops. And jackals yelled aloud, and many fierce and terrible birds repeatedly wheeled on the left of the army . . ."[128] Even in the oral literature of the tribe Hill Saora, in Orisaa,[129] the cry of the bird on the left spells death, while on the right means life; and for this matter the belief in the signs of the right and of the left is wide-spread in the sub-continent, as well as Farther India.[130]

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[127] Daguio, *loc. cit.* Omen birds also play a very important role in the daily lives of the North Borneans and Malays. *Vide* Evans, *op. cit.,* p. 15, 37, 169.

While the *Hud-hud* does not specifically mention from which side the Idao bird wheels or crosses the path of the warriors, there is only one instance so far discovered in the chronicles of a Spanish priest,[131] which distinguishes the signs of the right and of the left. Thus, when a sea voyage was undertaken, they rocked the boat to and fro, and is left to virbrate. If the vibrations on the right side were more pronounced the voyage would be good, but if bad, they were less. Whether the vibration on the left is more pronounced to be interpreted as bad, it is not specified. Nevertheless, it may safely be conjectured that the left side has also something to do in the prediction of a favourable augury.

Miscellaneous Beliefs, Traditions and Practices. The resemblance that the Bukidnon's belief in the gods of the cardinal directions of the world bears with the Indian's belief in the guardians of the four *desas* (quarters) can hardly be surmised as independent development. The gods of the four quarters are: at the North—Domalongdong; at the South—Ongli; at the East—Tagolambong; and at the West—Magbabaya.[132] These gods in their power and wisdom have control over the world. Harmony is maintained by them.

Although the names of the Hindu guardians of the four cardinal points—Pulastya regent over the northern quarter; Yama, over the south; Indra, the east; and Varuna, the west—are totally different from those of the Bukidnons', the conceptus in both is perhaps similar.

Nowhere in the Archipelago among the other groups of people is found the belief in the existence of regents of the cardinal points of the world, except perhaps in the rather primitive belief in the spirits of the two quarters—East and West—mentioned in the Ifugao harvest song.[133] Yet these spirits of the east and of the west are more or less without any power comparable to those of the Bukidnon regents.

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[128] MAHABHARATA, VII: Dronaparva. Section VII: Dronābhisekaparva.

[129] Elwin, *op. cit.*, chapter XVII, No. 11, p. 310.

[130] *Vide* and cf. Nilakantha Sastri, *loc. cit.*

[131] Colin, NATIVE RACES AND THEIR CUSTOMS, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, LX, p. 78.

[132] Letter from Fr. Jose Maria Clotet to the Rev. Fr. Rector of the Ateneo Municipal, Talisayan, May 11, 1889, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XLIII, p. 294.

Observations of various writers in the Philippines have been recorded with regard to the manner the early Filipinos kept their hair. From the Sulu Islands in the south up to the Luzon island in the north, it is shown how widespread the habit of wearing the hair long and gathering it in a low knot on the back of the head,[134] or near the crown, or just over the occiput.[135] In very rare cases, however, can there be found the knot drawn to the back of the head, and around the forehead shaven in the form of an even arch perhaps parallel to the eyebrows.[136] But, in cases that had been observed the frontal portion of the head is shaved to form an arch, the remaining hair from the center of the head to the back is kept loose.[137] The Negritos of Zambales in the western part of Luzon have also the front part of the head shaven, but the remaining hair is kept short, and ungroomed.[138]

The custom of wearing the hair in this manner among both a few tribes and non-tribal groups in the Islands may indicate an Indian influence, the significance of which does not seem to have been understood by them. However, it is certain that the Mangyans of Mindoro—traditionally known? as Ma-i or Ma-yi according to the Chinese records and among whom the practice of *sati* was observed—may have received from the Indians customs and manners other than the sacrifice in the funeral pyre.

If the use of the *potong,* a turban-like head-dress, among the men of the Archipelago [139] were a pre-Islamic introduction it could possibly be understood to be an imitation of the Indian turban. Nevertheless, it is likely that it could have been introduced by the Islamized Malays or Javanese whose culture has an Indian substratum.

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[133] Daguio, *op. cit.,* lines 58-59, 64-65.

[134] Merton Miller, "The Mangyans of Mindoro," PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, VII, 3, p. 141. Charles Wilkes, NARRATIVE OF THE U.S. EXPLORING EXPEDITION DURING THE YEARS 1838-1842, I, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XLIII, p. 163. Antonio de Morga, SUCESOS DE LAS FILIPINAS, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XVI, p. 77.

[135] de San Antonio, *op. cit.,* in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XL, p. 327.

[136] Wilkes, *loc. cit.* Cf. Morga, *loc. cit.*

[137] Morga, *loc. cit.*

[138] *Vide* Roberto Bennett Bean, "Filipino Ears, III: Negritos," PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, VI, p. 107. Plate VIII, Nos. 7, 8. Vide also the illustrations in "A 16th Century Manila Manuscript," JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1950 (Republished in PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, LXXXVII, 4, 1958). Also N. J. Krom, BARABUDUR, II (The Hague, 1927), p. 197. On the reliefs of the Barabudur, often men are seen with "the front of their head smooth shaven just like monks."

[139] Chirino, *op. cit.,* in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XII, p. 240; Morga, *op. cit.,* p. 76.

An isolated but very striking custom is that which resembles the Hindu practice of *pradaksina* or *parikramya* (circumambulation of votive objects). It is found to be practised by the Ilokos in the Northwestern Luzon. But, its significance is far more interesting as it occurs only in their literature. The custom is mentioned only once in the folk-epos, *Lam-ang.*[140] Perhaps a citation of the relevant portions of the epos where the custom is found would not be out of order.

13 "Tapno ditanto mabiglaan
No madanon ti iruruarnan,
adda met saganan a balitang
A rumbeng a pagiddaan."
14 Nagrubbuat met a napan
Ni asawana a Don Juan
Ket idinto a nagtengannan
Linikmot na di kawayan.
"That we will not be caught un-awares,
When the time of his birth[141] arrives
There would a bamboo bed be
Made fit for (thee) to lie on."
Thus to the bamboo grove he went
Don Juan, the husband, (full of joy)
Then arriving at the grove
Walked around the (sacred) tree.

It is rather difficult to confirm that this Iloko *custom* is probably a lost vestige of a tradition borrowed from India. The act is a sign of respect for the person or object circumambulated as well as a sign that the object of respect is of a sacred character. The difficulty is primarily due to its being an isolated case. Moreover, the literature does not say whether the circumambulation is to the right or to the left. The Indian always performs the act with his right-hand-side turn to the object or person venerated. In India, it is not only found in literature,[142] but also in actual practice as prescribed in the s'āstras.[143]

The houses of the Hindus are kept ceremonially clean and pure by the use of the cow-dung being made with water into a [semi]-

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[140] Leopoldo Y. Yabes, PAKASARITAAN TI PANAGBIAG NI LAM-ANG NGA ASAWA NI DOÑA INES KANNOYAN, Text and Translation with Notes (in PHILIPPINE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES REVIEW, XXIII, June-December, 1958), Strophes 13-14. *Parikramya* was also practised in the Malay Peninsula particularly in House-Building—the home-site is circumambulated clockwise. *Vide* Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

[141] The coming nativity of Lam-ang, the epic hero.

[142] An instance may be cited: When Rama and Sita, and Laksmana were departing for the forest in exile, they circumambulated their parents. RAMAYANA, Ayodhyakanda, XXVII.

[143] Particularly the DHARMASASTRA of Manu.

[144] Cf. Dubois, op. cit., p. 90.

liquid paste; then smeared on the dirt floor with a kind of *brush* made from paddy straw.[144] Furthermore, it is a prerequisite in the preparation of the ground on which any Indian sacrificial rite is performed.[145] In a similar procedure, the early Filipinos use either cow- or buffalo-dung but more usually the latter to keep the ground "free" from dirt while threshing harvested paddy. The concept in the Hindu can not be traced in the Archipelago, although it may safely be conjectured that its significance is perhaps similar to the Indian and may have been lost in the process of culture change. It could have possibly been used as a preliminary act in the preparation of the sacrificial ground, on which their sacrifices were performed.

Although the stock-in-trade of the Indian and Filipino sorcerers are slightly different, the procedure which both follow presents striking similarities. In India, the sorcerer starts by collecting a quantity of mud from sixty-four filthy places. It is then kneaded with hair, parings of nails, bits of leather, etc., and it is moulded in small figurines, on the breasts of which the name of one's enemy is written. Certain words and mantras are then repeated over these figurines, which are also consecrated by sacrifices. No sooner is this done than *grahas* or planets take possession of the person against whom such incantations are directed, and afflict him with a thousand ills.[146] These figurines are sometimes pierced through and through with an awl, or are mutilated in various ways with the intention of killing or mutilating in the same manner the person who is the object of vengeance.[147] The object of vengeance recovers only when the piercing and mutilating or any other destructive act cease.

The Filipino sorcerer is rather "modern" in the sense that he may have graduated from the use of mud with all the other ingredients of the figurines like the Indian, if he had been influenced by the latter in early times, to the use fo the small rag doll. His total stock-in-trade is an *abubut,* a basket woven of rattan, which has a lid of the same material, a rag doll, and a small cushion stuck full of innumerable pins.[148]

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[145] A. C. Burnell, ORDINANCES OF MANU, Lecture 5, Par. 105, p. 125. (From its sacred character, cow-dung is purificatory).

[146] Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 389-390.

[147] *ibid.* Cf. a similar practice in the Malabar coast of India. Among the Nayars, the figurines are sometimes placed in the buring *ghats*, where they waste; while they do, the body of the person against whom the act is performed also wastes. In Tamilnattu (the land of the Tamils), the act is called *sunya* (Sans. *sūnya*, "empty, void"), "reducing one to nothing, losing health" (laying *sunyam* for a person is rather common to the Tamils). In some cases, a counter sorcery is performed against the performer or the instigator, and in the same manner the sorcerer or instigator wastes away. Certain pills with edibles and dirt so enchanted are also given.

Cf. also MAHABHARATA, Vanaparva, CCXXXI-CCXXXII: Draupadi Satyabhama Samvada. Satyabhama, wife of Krishna, asks Draupadi whether it is by incarnation or the recitations of particular formulae that the latter's husbands are obedient to her. *Vide* also the KAMASUTRA of Vatsyayana.

When the *mangkukulam* (as he is called in Tagalog; *manggagamod,* in Iloko) desires to do any harm to a person or when he is employed to inflict harm on the employer's enemy, he takes out his instruments and sticks the doll with pins on which part of the body wished to be hurt. Together with the sticking of the pins are pronounced spells or words uttered to effect evil upon whom the hurt is directed. Thus performed, the object of anger or vengeance immediately falls sick, whose cure is effected only upon removal of the pins stuck in the doll.

This may well have been an independent development from the Indian. The striking resemblances between the practices, however are without doubt coming from a common concept-source, now untraceable.

The earliest notice on the habit of the early inhabitants of the Islands of greasing "themselves with coconut oil and with beneseed oil (olio de cocho et de giongioli) as a protection against sun and wind (pa lo solle et pa il vento)" is found in the work of Antonio Pigafetta.[149] He, however, specifies the inhabitants to be those living in the island of Humunu (Homonhon), off Samar Island in the Eastern Bisayas, where the Spaniards had their first contact with peoples of Archipelago. It can not be doubted that this habit is also Indian. An injunction is found in the **s'āstras** that the oil bath must be taken during festival days commemorating important events in the Hindu calendar.[150]

While the custom of betel-chewing may be an independent development in the countries in the East, it is of interest that it has in the Islands[151] other uses than just an item for entertainment both in folk- and *kunst*-literature,[152] and actual practice. Morga,[153] as early as 1609 wrote that in these *buyos* [154] "poison has been often administered from which the persons eating them have died . . ." and this was a very common occurence. The kind of poison is not mentioned.

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[148] Jose Nuñez, "The Mangkukulam," EL RENACIMIENTO (SUPPLEMENTO), in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XLIII, p. 313. Vide L. Bloomfield, TAGALOG TEXTS WITH GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS (Urbana, Illinois, 1917, Text No. II, "Ang Mangkukulam", p. 40-46.

[149] In BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XXXIII, p. 108-113. Also John Pinkerton, A GENERAL COLLECTION OF THE BEST AND MOST INTERESTING VOYAGES AND TRAVELS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, XI—ASIATIC ISLANDS (London, 1912), p. 328.

[150] Particularly the DHARMASASTRA of Manu.

[151] Pigafetta, in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XXXIII, p. 130-131.

[152] In the Philippine epics LAM-ANG, BIDASARI, BANTUGAN, etc. Also in Fay Cooper Cole, TALES OF THE TINGUIANS, in FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Publ. 180, XVI, 1.

[153] In BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XVI, p. 98, ff.

South-west of the Islands, in the Malay Peninsula, it is told "that in the old days Malays were in the habit of conveying poison to any one they wanted 'out of the awy' in a 'chew' of betel."[155] The poison used in the process consists of the bile of a green tree-snake (ular puchok, Dryophis prasinus) mixed with that of a green water frog, and that of a jungle crow; and is smeared on the gambier used in betel chewing.[156]

This is reminiscent of the poison damsels in Indian literatures [157] who used as one of their stock-in-trade of destruction, the betel concoction offered in a friendly gesture. This idea of poison damsel, however, is not of an Indian origin but believed to be introduced from Greece through the coming of Alexander the Great.[158]

Cockfighting is the chief past-time of the common man in the Islands, an amusement carried with passionate eagerness. F. Jagor [159] wrote "that the practice has been introduced by the Spaniards or the Mexicans who accompanied them." The game has been observed to have been common among the Malays, the people of Celebes, and the Balinese, the game-cock being such an object of interest and praises of it has been found in their songs and poems.[160]

In a Balinese folk-tale,[161] a story of a poor boy is told that when he died, his soul went to the realms of the dead. In one of the realms, he found himself in " . . . a large court, where all kinds of entertainments took place: lively cock-fighting was going on . . ."

That the art of cock-fighting was introduced by the Spaniards or the Mexicans alleged by Jagor is not acceptable in the light of testimonies by earlier foreign visitors of the Eastern lands. As early as 1521, Pigafetta [162] testifies that the game was in vogue in the island of Palauan (Palawan) on the western part of the Archipelago.

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[154] Tag. *buyo,* "chewing-betel and other ingredients," Also, Tag. *nga-nga,* Iloko, *mama,* "id."

[155] Tawney, II, Appendix III.

[156] *ibid.*

[157] *ibid.,* (bk. iii, chap. xix), p. 91. Visakhadatta's MUDRARAKSASA, Hemacandra's PARISISTAPARVAN, and the 71st Tale of SUVABAHUTTARIKATHA. It, however, appears very rarely in Sanskrit literature.

[158] Tawney, II, Appendix III.

[159] TRAVELS IN THE PHILIPPINES (London, 1875), p. 27.

[160] John Crawfurd, HISTORY OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO (Edinburgh, 1820). I, p. 113-114.

[161] Jacoba Hooykaas, "A Journey into the Realm of Death," BIJDRAGEN TOT DE TAAL-LAND EN VOLKENKUNDE, CXI, 1, 1955, p. 251.

[162] *op. cit.,* in BLAIR AND ROBERTSON, XXXIII, p. 211. John Bowring, A VISIT TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (London, 1859, p. 149-153).

If this amusement were not indigenous it may well have been introduced from Java, Zabag to the Arab writers, for it was already practiced with passionate interest by the people. We are informed of this through the writings of the Arab, Ibn Hordadbeh, in A.D. 844-848.[163] This was in connection with the revenue of Java: ". . . . Part of this revenue, say 50 manns a day, he gets in cockfights, one of the legs of the victorious cock belongs by right to the king, and the owner buys it back for gold."

Cockfighting could possibly be an introduction from India, since it is known that the game is one of the sixty-four arts *(catussastikala)* in which the ancient Indian was proficient. Like the dice,[164] cockfighting was not merely an amusement but likewise a vice. It is beautifully described in the Bhānas, Sanskrit dramatic monologues. It is also mentioned in the Kāmāsūtra of Vatsāyayana[165] as one of the arts that a lover must be proficient in.

Practical Arts. Studies on the practical arts, e.g., boatmaking, fishing, weaving, mining, etc., are apparently meagre, and for the purposes of the present research they are very insignificant. Rather interesting, however, are the few references about their origins, though doubtful in most cases.

On the assumption that there was a longstanding two-way trade between the Philippines and India [166] via the intermediary localities, in the early centuries of the Christian era, it is quite likely that the art of ship-building in the Islands may have been flourishing at that period. Morever, it is highly probable that the methods employed in the art by the Filipinos were either autocthonous or borrowed or perhaps a combination of both. If the assertion of Ricardo E. Galang [167] that the "boats used by the ancient Filipinos were extraordinarily large and carried one hundred rowers and about thirty to sixty fighting men" and "were of East Indian . . . origin . . . " were probable, there are yet difficulties encountered in the final acceptance of this proof. The most important of these is that no records of boatbuilding has come down to us. It is perhaps understandable that the art may have been handed down by tradition. Moreover, aside from the probable Indian origin of the art, there is a greater likelihood that the influence may have come from the Chinese or from Oceania.

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[163] KITAB AL-MASALIK WA'L-MAMALIK, 844-848, Ed. and Tr. by M. J. de Geoje, in G. Ferrand, "L'Empire Sumatranais de Crivijaya," JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, Jul.-Sept. 1922, p. 52-53.

[164] In the MAHABHARATA, Sabhaparva, the Pandavas lose their kingdom and wife due to Yuddhisthira's love for the dice. In the same manner, Nala loses kingdom, wife and freedom in a game of dice(Vanaparva, Markandeya Samasya Parva).

[165] Adhikarana I, Adhyaya 3: Mesakukkuta lavaka yudhividhih. It is the 42nd art. Cock-fighting is also described in Dandin's DASAKUMARACARITA, Chapter X, Pramati's Adventure.

[166] *Vide* R. B. Dixon, "Resent Archaeological Discoveries in the Philippine," PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, XLIX, I, 1930, p. 225-229.

[167] "Types of Water Craft in the Philippines," PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, LXXV, p. 291,

From the Indian coast on the Bengal Bay eastward to the Pacific Islands there is a type of fishing appliance which is very common. This is the cast-net properly known as *laya,* in Bisaya; *dala* in Tagalog, *lala,* in Zambal; and *tabukol,* in Iloko.[168] This being the type so wide-spread in an area so vast, it is assumed that the processes in its production are analogous.

Comparing the processes through which the fishing net had to pass until it is a finished product, in the Islands and in India, to cite two localities separated by space and time, analogies are apparent: the spinning of the thread with the use of the top-like instrument, made of lead or any heavy metal, with an iron hook at the tip, and a wooden handle; the process of weaving with the use of a shuttle-like contrivance which is shot to and from and around the mess regulator (made of a piece of bamboo, or wooden strip); the attachment of a lead sinker, particularly the eastern type of the net, etc. These are more or less the basic processes in the production of the net.

Spinning and weaving is an ancient art among the Filipinos. Cotton, therefore, was the chief material used, judging primarily from the evidence of language and the identical processes in the preparation of the material to the finished cloth. The art had its highest development in the Ilokos province, in the northwestern Luzon,[169] where the processes of ginning, carding, spining and weaving were, in almost every step, identical with those found in Borneo, Java, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, and a large part of India.[170]

The mining industry in pre-hispanic Philippines was well developed. It has been demonstrated that the miners, especially in the Island of Masbate, used the Indian quick-line method, instead of the Chinese gun-powder process, of excavating the rock.[171]

Résumé. The foregoing study on the analogous customs, traditions, and manners in India and the Philippines does not have any pretentions at conclusiveness. For as it has already been mentioned in the Introduction, these parallel culture aspects may well have developed along independent lines, though in the long period of contacts in ancient times between the two regions (via the intervention of traffic in trade?), these culture aspects may have found distinctive identity and/or similarity. It must be stated, moreover, that these parallelisms may have a common source from which they drew their sustenance throughout the centuries, till they were cut off from the continuous flow of that sustenance by the inroads of a powerfully-backed intrusive culture in later centuries.

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[168] Florencio Talavera and Heracleo R. Montalban, "Fishing Appliances of Panay, Negros and Cebu," PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, XLVIII, p. 429-430. Also, MAN, I, p. 178, and JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, XXXI.

[169] Cole, in FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY (Chicago, 1922). Publ. 209, XIV, 2, p. 416.

[170] W. W. Skeat, "Notes on the Ethnology of the Malay Peninsula," MAN, I, p. 178. Also Raffles, I, p.. 167-170; Crawfrud, I, p. 176-177.

[171] G. Nye Steiger, et al., A HISTORY OF THE ORIENT (Boston, 1929), p. 195.

It is, therefore, with anxiety that we await the comments of workers—contemporary and future—in the field who might have been stimulated by the rather sweeping, albeit presumptuous assertions in this study, thereby producing much clearer view of the much conjectured ancient Indo-Philippine contacts.

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